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ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

1

Gorbachev Proposals on Arms Cuts Viewed
LD/PW/205789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0930 GMT 19 May 89

[From the "International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Andrey Pushnikov, all-union radio foreign political commentator, with Vladimir Nikolayevich Chernyshev, TASS military observer]

[Text] [Pushnikov] Esteemed comrades, I want to turn to an event which took place last week but is continuing to arouse heightened interest. This is shown in particular also by your letters. I have in mind the new Soviet peace proposals put forward by Comrade Gorbachev during his meeting in Moscow with U.S. Secretary of State Baker. I remind you that they are aimed at lessening military confrontation in Europe and provide for a radical reduction of the arms and armed forces of the Warsaw Pact organization and NATO down to the level necessary for defense. Moreover, the USSR took the unilateral decision to reduce its nuclear munitions on the continent and to withdraw 500 warheads of tactical nuclear weapons from the territory of its allies in 1988. In other words, our country has made another important and weighty contribution on the difficult road towards real disarmament.

I won't speak about the U.S. reaction to this Soviet initiative. It has already been covered widely enough both in the press and in our broadcasts and news bulletins. I will only note that the position of the White House cannot at all be called constructive. What was written in this connection by the authoritative U.S. newspaper The Washington Post is instructive. I will quote it: Gorbachev's proposals regarding a unilateral reduction of nuclear missiles and a considerable reduction of troops in Europe have put NATO and the United States on the defensive. Neither U.S. Secretary of State Baker nor other U.S. officials now know how precisely the Soviet steps will affect the debates on NATO's tactical nuclear weapons. However, there is little doubt that Gorbachev's proposal will strengthen the mood in favor of détente. I will note, for my part, that it is precisely this process which is now taking place.

Now I want to dwell on only one of the aspects of the new Soviet initiatives, the aspect that deals with conventional arms. Next to me in the studio is a specialist in this area, TASS observer for military questions, Vladimir Nikolayevich Chernyshev, who I invited to take part in today's broadcast.

So then, at the meeting with Baker, Comrade Gorbachev announced the additional proposals which the USSR is submitting at the Vienna talks, that is to say, at the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe. So, could you, Vladimir Nikolayevich, tell us in greater detail about the essence of these proposals?

[Chernyshev] Our country proposes to come to an agreement on a radical reduction period of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and of the North Atlantic Alliance in Europe by 1996-97.

The essence of these proposals lies in the following: In the event of their being adopted by the participants in the talks, each military-political alliance would be left in Europe with an identical number of armed forces and armaments, which is the subject of the talks in Vienna: personnel of 1.35 million men each; tactical air force combat planes—1,500 each; combat helicopters—1,700 each; tanks—24,000 units each; infantry combat vehicles, and armored carriers—24,000 units each. To this end each alliance would have to reduce the numbers of its armed forces by over 1 million men. The NATO bloc would reduce combat aircraft and helicopters by approximately 2,500 units. In the Warsaw Pact these would also be reduced, but on a lesser scale, for NATO has more of these aircraft and helicopters. The Warsaw Pact Organization would, for its part, reduce other arms to a greater extent: tanks by 42,000 units; artillery and mortars—by approximately 48,000; infantry combat vehicles and armored carriers—by approximately 42,000. NATO would reduce these kinds of arms to a lesser extent inasmuch as it has (far) fewer of them.

[Pushnikov] You know, Vladimir Nikolayevich, I can testify that all these figures undoubtedly make a fairly strong impression on a person who is far removed from military affairs. However, I would like to get to the bottom of what is new in our proposals and what influence they can bring to bear on the progress of the Vienna talks.

[Chernyshev] As one can imagine, very significant and essential in these proposals is the fact that by presenting specific figures on reducing the thresholds of arms levels, which mean both sides must implement reductions, the Soviet Union has essentially brought our position closer to the position of the NATO countries at the Vienna talks. For instance, the upper threshold level for tanks, infantry fighting vehicles, and armored carriers precisely matches the levels which were submitted by the North Atlantic Alliance. The final figures for artillery and mortars are also close.

I would also like to note an extremely important fact. The Soviet Union has again demonstrated its readiness to eliminate the inequality—or as they say at the talks, the imbalance and asymmetry in various categories of arms—first of all of those which worry the NATO countries. It follows that for their part, the socialist countries are ready to display realism in the approach toward strengthening stability on the European continent. It is perfectly natural that we are entitled to expect a similarly realistic approach from the Western participants in the Vienna talks.

[Prudnikov] But in the view of the Soviet side, in what specifically should this realism be manifested from the Western side?

[Chernyshev] In the NATO proposals which are now on the negotiating table, the collection of destabilizing arms, subject to reduction, has been artificially narrowed down. It comes down only to those categories for which the Warsaw Pact side has the advantage—to tanks, artillery, and armored carriers. It does not include such categories for which the NATO side has the advantage, in particular for strike aviation and combat helicopters.

The socialist countries regard as wrong [zapretyazheny] any attempts to remove aviation from the list of the most dangerous and destabilizing arms, which should be reduced as a matter of priority. The tactical strike aviation and combat helicopters are virtually the most advanced kind of offensive arms, which have punch, a greater reach, and mobility. They can serve as an ideal means of inflicting a first strike, as a potential for a sudden attack.

Taking into account that the level of aviation and helicopters is excessively high in the two alliances, the NATO side having the advantage here, these levels, at the same time as the levels of tanks, artillery, and armored carriers, must first be made identical, and second, make them lower. That is why the Soviet Union has proposed in its new initiatives the specific levels down to which the tactical combat planes and combat helicopters must be reduced.

[Prudnikov] Well, okay. If one takes the Western participants in the talks, what grounds do they adduce justifying their refusal to reduce tactical aviation combat planes and combat helicopters?

[Chernyshev] The official Western representatives state that allegedly only tanks, artillery, and armored carriers are fraught with the greatest threat to stability in Europe, inasmuch as they allegedly play a decisive role in a sudden attack and also in capturing and holding someone else's territory.

However, such grounds cannot be recognized as being well-founded. And here is why. First, I would like to note an aggression need not necessarily be aimed at capturing and holding territory. The experience of wars and local conflicts show that the attacking side also sets itself other aims, such as undermining a country's defensive and economic potential, and destabilization of the internal political situation in it, with these aims being achieved not only and not so much by ground troops as precisely by strike aviation and combat helicopters.

Second, in the arsenal of means being used for a sudden attack and inflicting strikes at a great depth, the strike aviation and combat helicopters have a priority role. For instance, I can say that the depth of strikes for advanced

aircraft of strike tactical aviation is over 1,000 km, and for combat helicopters up to 250 km. This, of course, cannot bear any comparison with the possibilities of tank formations.

Third, aircraft mobility is far higher than that of armored and artillery means. The air wing, for instance, can be redeployed over a vast distance in a matter of hours, whereas tank divisions require no less than 2-3 days to redeploy over a distance of only 500-600 km under their own steam.

Fourth, a strike aviation system is considerably superior to tanks and artillery with regard to fire power. Calculations show that if the fire power of an artillery system for hitting the target is taken as a unit, a tank is 3-4 times superior to it, a combat helicopter 5-7 times, and a combat aircraft 10-12 times. It seems that all the arguments set out here confirm the correctness of the socialist countries' approach to the selection of categories of arms subject to immediate reduction.

If one is so sincerely endeavoring to attain the objectives set out in the talks mandate—that is, eliminating the potential for conducting sudden attacks or large-scale offensive operations—then as well as tanks, artillery, and armored vehicles, one must definitely include strike aircraft and combat helicopters on the list of the most destabilizing weapons posing the greatest threat to European security. Leaving aviation combat equipment off the list would mean undermining the basic principle of the talks—ensuring equal security for the states—and can only be regarded as an attempt to obtain and consolidate unilateral superiority.

[Prudnikov] Continuing this discussion of the Vienna talks, as the press has frequently intimated, there are other differences between the sides' standpoints there as well. In particular, one of those differences is NATO's unwillingness to discuss the matter of cutting armed forces personnel. What do you think of that?

[Chernyshev] Yes, it's true that in contrast to the NATO countries that are proposing reductions in weapons alone, the Warsaw Pact states are also working for a reduction in personnel numbers. What's more, a very substantial reduction of more than 1 million men on each side. It's hard for us to understand why NATO's proposals contain not a single word on personnel. I don't think there's any need to explain that personnel is the main component of the armed forces, and that it plays a central role in occupying and holding territory. This is the very reason why the socialist countries proceed from the view that the sides should assume specific obligations on cutting armed forces personnel.

Finally, I would like to say that the constructive and sweeping nature of the Soviet proposals clearly pave the way toward a rapid attainment of the objectives of the Vienna talks—the establishment of a stable and safe balance of conventional forces at lower levels, and the

elimination of inequalities which are prejudicial to stability and security. The ball is now in the NATO countries' court. It would be nice if the Vienna talks could become a two-way street.

Gorbachev's Latest Arms Initiatives Viewed
LD1905160389 Moscow TASS in English 1507 GMT
19 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS—By TASS Military Analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

The latest initiatives on the reduction of armed forces and armaments, which Mikhail Gorbachev had advanced at Beijing, are proof of the Soviet Union's consistent adherence to the course of strengthening confidence and security in different areas of the world, both in the West and in the East, of promoting the process of disarmament, bringing the Soviet Armed Forces in line with the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency.

After 1985 the Soviet Union had already cut its Armed Forces in the Far East, had unilaterally assumed the commitment not to increase ground and aerial nuclear means in the region. In compliance with the Sino-Soviet-American agreement, 436 intermediate- and short-range missiles will be destroyed in the eastern part of our country. Now it has been announced that the Soviet Army group there will be reduced by 200 thousand men in 1989-1990, including 120 thousand in the Far East. Today it has been learned that twelve divisions of the Soviet ground forces and 11 air wings will be reduced in the eastern part of the USSR. This month the Soviet Union has started one more reduction of Armed Forces in Mongolia. Three full divisions, including two tank divisions and the entire Air Force group will be withdrawn from the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1989-1990.

Structural changes have already been made in the Soviet troops, employed along the Sino-Chinese border, with a view to making them conform fully with the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency. The Soviet leader said in Beijing that our country was prepared to demilitarize the Sino-Chinese border: on agreement with the PRC, so that military units and armaments would be withdrawn from the border regions. Only personnel tended to discharge usual frontier duties are to be left there.

Reduction of combat units of the Pacific Fleet is being continued. According to statements by representatives of the Soviet Armed Forces Command, the number of vessels was reduced there by 57 units during the past four years. Information has just been published on the forthcoming retirement of 16 warships from the Pacific Fleet. This brings the figure up to 73 craft.

All these practical measures go to show how the new thinking can make headway in the military sphere too. They are bound to promote, we presume, the all-Asian process, to lay the beginning for the joint search by Asian

states of ways to lower the military confrontation and strengthen security in the Asian-Pacific region. Genuine stability can be ensured only through the efforts of all the Asia-Pacific region nations.

Meeting Marks Troop Withdrawal From Jüterbog
LD1905181089 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] In Jüterbog, a small regional center in the Potsdam District, a farewell meeting to mark the beginning of the 32d Guards Tank Division's withdrawal from the GDR took place. During the years of the Great Patriotic War, this military formation completed the difficult combat route from Moscow to Dresden and Prague. On its military banner are the orders of Suvorov and Kutuzov. In the post-war period the division has reliably guarded peace and helped the German workers' and peasants' state to protect socialist gains.

Troop Withdrawal From GDR Continues
LD1905181189 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT
18 May 89

[Text] Berlin May 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Ostroky: Soviet troop withdrawal from the German Democratic Republic is continued. A train carrying military equipment and personnel of the 25th tank division based in Neubrandenburg district today headed for the homeland.

Hundreds of residents and soldiers of the GDR National People's Army assembled for a meeting at the railway terminal square in Prenzlau, a district center.

In his speech at the meeting Wolfgang Herrmann, first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany district committee, recalled that this unit had treaded a glorious path from Vornetz to Prague and took part in liberating the German people from Nazism. People living in our district have not forgotten those historic days, he said. The unilateral reduction in the USSR Armed Forces is one more successful proof of the Soviet Union's peaceful policy, an example for NATO.

Johannes Hennig, first secretary of the party regional committee, representatives of the command of the group of Soviet troops in Germany, and also members of the military missions of the United States, Britain and France attended the farewell ceremony.

Head of Arms Cuts Monitoring Group Interviewed
PM1705182389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 16 May 89 First Edition p 3

["Topical Interview" with doctor of historical sciences S.M. Ragov, deputy chairman of the Group for the Public Monitoring of the Reduction of Soviet Armed Forces and Armaments, by Senior Lieutenant S. Sidurav: "Under Public Monitoring"—place, date of interview not given; first three paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] A Group for the Public Monitoring of the Reduction of Soviet Armed Forces and Armaments (GORN) was created in mid-April this year at the initiative of several

of our country's public organizations. It unites Soviet scientists, members of public organizations' activists, and USSR people's deputies. A. A. Kokoshkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and deputy chairman of the Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace and Against Nuclear War, was elected chairman of the group.

On 15 May representatives of the group started monitoring the withdrawal of units and subunits of Soviet troops from the Mongolian People's Republic to USSR territory.

Prior to the delegation's departure, a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent met with Doctor of Historical Sciences S.M. Rogov, GON deputy chairman.

[Sidorov] What objectives and tasks has GON set itself?

[Rogov] Our group's creation was a reflection of the Soviet public's growing contribution to the processes of democratization and glasnost, including in spheres like defense, security, and disarmament. Our goal is to render this contribution even weightier and more effective, and to cooperate to the utmost in the implementation of the principle of reasonable sufficiency in the defense sphere.

We have set ourselves a series of tasks. First, to strengthen ties between the Army and the public. Here there must be no room for rumor and conjecture. In the conditions of glasnost we must embark on the development of the broadest possible contacts with Armed Forces representatives.

The second task is directly associated with the reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces' numerical strength announced by M.S. Gorbachev. It is well known that the Soviet Union is embarking on these reductions unilaterally. There is no provision for international verification and monitoring. But in present-day conditions there is no need for excessive secrecy in the implementation of measures like these. Greater openness on our part will confirm the practical orientation of the defensive military doctrine.

We consider it one of our main tasks to study the socioeconomic consequences of the measures being implemented, which could logically be perceived as the start of real steps toward universal disarmament. People who have honorably served the motherland are being discharged from the ranks of the Armed Forces. According to data we have received from the General Staff, they include a large number of officers, 97,000 men. The Soviet public must know how the questions of employment, professional retraining, and provision of housing for these people will be resolved.

Finally, we deem it important to maintain contacts with representatives of the public abroad. We have already requested the General Staff to allow us to invite foreign public figures and parliamentarians to participate in certain selected actions to monitor measures on the reduction of USSR Armed Forces on our country's territory, and we have received its consent.

[Sidorov] What has already been done by your group, and what are your plans for the immediate future?

[Rogov] The first trip made by GON representatives was to the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, where we visited formations and units preparing to withdraw to USSR territory. On 15 May we will begin monitoring the withdrawal of a tank division's units from the Mongolian People's Republic. Our representatives will then travel to the group of Soviet Forces in Germany to monitor the withdrawal of the 25th and 32d Guards Tank Divisions to the Soviet Union. Our future plans include trips to the Central Group of Forces, to the base of a motorized rifle division which will switch to a new defensive structure, and to the Southern Group of Forces to monitor the withdrawal of units from the 13th Tank Division to USSR territory.

On the basis of information we have requested from the General Staff and of selected monitoring actions, we intend to issue statements confirming the withdrawal of the aforementioned military formations in accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On the Reduction of USSR Armed Forces and Defense Expenditure during 1989-1990."

Later on we plan to visit the places where these formations will be stationed and to monitor their disbandment and the handing over of their standard complement of weapons and equipment to storage bases or for peaceful utilization in the national economy.

The group will also regularly summarize data on the progress of planned reductions on the basis of information received from the General Staff. We plan, with help from specialists, to conduct studies on questions of verification and monitoring and on other questions associated with the reduction of armed forces and armaments. The conclusions drawn as a result of this analysis will be submitted to the public and to commissions of the new USSR Supreme Soviet which will deal with foreign policy and defense questions.

In conclusion, on behalf of my colleagues, members of GON, I would like to express through your newspaper gratitude to representatives of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and of the command of groups of forces and military districts for the help they have given us.

Shervadnadze Outlines Relations With U.S., China
PM220509/789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with E.A. Shervadnadze by PRAVDA correspondent, date and place not given: "E.A. Shervadnadze's Replies to a PRAVDA Correspondent's Questions"]

[Text] **Question.** Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the People's Republic of China has just ended. It was given an extensive coverage by mass media. But, as is often the case in such situations, the current aspect comes to the fore and as if eclipses the long-term importance of what is going on before our very eyes. [sentence as published] Would you place the Soviet-Chinese summit within the context of overall world politics?

Answer. I do not think that I need to emphasize in any way the importance of the normalization of relations between the two great socialist countries. From now on this is a reality of our existence, a reality of the present-day world.

Really, such phenomena do not occur suddenly in politics and quite ordinarily. They reflect the regularities and trends of world development.

In recent years we all became involved in the historic transition to what Mikhail Gorbachev referred to as a "peaceful period" of relationships between countries. One can say that a global warming of the political climate has set in. It has come to us through the elimination of nuclear missiles, reductions in troops and conventional arms, confidence-building measures in the military field, the slating of military spending through the achievement of regional political settlements, the expansion of cooperation in the humanitarian sphere, and interaction in the solution of economic and ecological problems.

The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is without exaggeration an immense contribution to this process which meets the interests of peace.

Question. Can one proceed from the premise that upon Soviet-Chinese normalization international relations are being firmly placed on the foundation of new political principles?

Answer. I would say as follows. They are being more firmly placed on the foundation of new political principles. But I will not maintain that the process has now become irreversible. Despite major breakthroughs which manifested themselves lately, there are no grounds for complacency, because the new thinking unfortunately encounters considerable resistance in the international

sphere. The confrontational vision of the world, ideologized in interstate relations, has formed its own nutrient medium and it has not disappeared. Hostility, insolence, suspicion, and mistrust are still being cultivated on it.

Question. In the editorial mail, there are quite a number of letters expressing bewilderment and even concern over the recent pronouncements by U.S. President George Bush, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and some other figures about the new administration's policy regarding the Soviet Union. What can you say about these remarks? [c]

Answer. Mr. Baker paid a visit to this country and had a meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, to whom he delivered a personal message from President Bush. We evaluate the results of the talks with the U.S. secretary of state as positive. It is of importance that the political dialogue and the talks on limiting and reducing arms, the talks which were interrupted during the administration changeover, are being resumed.

The American side told us that although the administration on the whole already determined its stand regarding the basic principles of doing business with the Soviet Union, the elaboration of positions on individual aspects of the policy is not yet over. We understood our interlocutors to mean that in the coming period the U.S. President and the secretary of state would make a series of public speeches setting out the new administration's views on Soviet-American relations.

It is understandable that we attentively follow pronouncements by spokesmen for the U.S. Administration.

President Bush's speech at Texas University surprised me, I admit. It surprised me by its tone and I would even say by its somewhat oldish ideological tinge and sometimes by its edifying, mentorship emphasis.

It seemed to us that our political dialogue already moved to a different category and got rid of the blinkers of ideological rhetoric and that we could conduct it without empty polemical clichés.

And it was not altogether understandable why there was any need to make a compliment to us by saying that the Soviet Union yielded to Washington's exhortations and "agreed" to resume negotiations on strategic forces. Can it be that the U.S. President really does not know why the Geneva talks were stopped? It is hard to believe that the President was not told that way back at the Vienna meeting of ministers we suggested to the American side to begin talks on nuclear and space arms in April. And we were the first during the first conversation with the U.S. secretary of state in Moscow to mention a new time frame—the end of May or, at last resort, the beginning of June.

A phrase from the President's speech remains a mystery to us: "I want to see a Soviet Union which respects China's integrity." Such a call is more appropriate with regard to the United States itself.

It is regrettable to hear such remarks. At the same time I would not say that the speeches of the President and the secretary of state had nothing deserving attention. They did contain right, positive thoughts. But we shall judge U.S. policy by deeds, not words.

Question. It is known that positions continue running high in NATO countries over plans to replace the U.S. "Lance" nuclear missiles deployed in the Federal Republic of Germany by more effective ones—"Lance-2." Some people in the West are planning the idea that the Soviet Union, in a desire to interfere with the realization of the plan, is resorting to pressure to bear on NATO and is "threatening" to upset the INF Treaty by stopping the elimination of its SS-20 missiles with a range of up to 500 kilometers. What can you say in this connection?

Answer. This is an obvious attempt to put everything upside down. No one in the Soviet Union intends to upset the INF treaty. But we do not intend to watch calmly how the United States and some other nations advocates of the replacement of "Lance" missiles are undermining this major document which has played and continues to play the key role in improving the international climate.

The Soviet Union is "threatening" only this specter. Our line is clear: to implement the existing accords in good faith without any build up of nuclear missiles, and to hold talks on reducing and eliminating them.

What is behind the modernization plans? In Europe, there are now tactical missiles with a range of up to 500 kilometers. The modernization advocates intend to deploy these new missiles with a range of about 500 kilometers. It is missiles of precisely this range that we are now eliminating. But we shall have to react to modernization. So, a new round of "arms upgrading" would inevitably be launched. We suggested that the Soviet Union and the United States remove all their missiles from Europe.

Where is a way out? We urged the United States and NATO as a whole to begin talks on eliminating the missiles.

By the way, in order to eliminate the 500 weapons which we are unilaterally removing from the territories of our allies, talks are also necessary even if only for coming to terms on control over their elimination.

Our position on this matter proceeds, as you see, from common sense, and there is nothing threatening in it.

Gerasimov Conducts News Briefing 22 May

Announces Expulsions in U.K. Quotas

LD2205143689 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT
22 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here on Monday that the British Government, on May 19, informed the Soviet side through the Soviet Embassy in London of the decision to expel from Great Britain eleven officials of Soviet institutions in the British capital and announced personnel *non grata* three Soviet officials who had earlier left Great Britain.

Great Britain's ambassador to Moscow was invited on May 20 to the USSR Foreign Ministry in connection with the unfriendly and provocative action of the British authorities and a resolute protest was lodged with him on behalf of the Soviet Government. Gerasimov went on: "The Soviet side categorically turned down groundless accusations against Soviet officials whose activity was fully in keeping with the Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations and with generally recognized international norms."

The step made by the British Government, undoubtedly, runs counter to the nature and level of our relations, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said. While the accusations against a number of Soviet officials in London are false, the Soviet side had reliable information about illegal activity of some officials of British institutions and representatives in Moscow in the interests of the British secret services.

The briefing was told that eleven British officials must leave the Soviet Union within a fortnight in connection with their involvement in illegal activity on the territory of the USSR. Three citizens of Great Britain who had earlier worked in Moscow were announced personnel *non grata*.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that from the moment of the Soviet statement the quota of personnel of British institutions and missions in Moscow, including Soviet citizens working there, is established on the basis of reciprocity.

It is equal to the present quota of the personnel of Soviet institutions in Great Britain—205 persons. Until now the Soviet side, showing goodwill, kept from establishing this quota which enabled British institutions in Moscow to bring the number of its personnel, including Soviet and British citizens, to 375 persons.

Gerasimov described this incident as deplorable. He said that the British side suggested not to reveal it but has not kept to this arrangement itself. The ambassador of Great

Britain in Moscow held a briefing for British journalists on May 21. Therefore, the Soviet side decided to give the information about what has happened.

Condemns U.S. Missile Policy

LD2205135189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1305 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 22 May (TASS)—"No one in the Soviet Union is intending to breach the INF treaty." This was stated at a briefing here today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry. He commented on a request from members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. Senate to President George Bush to obtain an explanation from Mikhail Gorbachev regarding the USSR's fulfillment of its obligations under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

At the same time, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted, work being carried out by the United States on creating new "Lance-2" missiles cannot be seen as anything other than an attempt to circumvent this document, because the missiles in question have a range of the Soviet operational and tactical missiles OTR-23, which are being eliminated under the treaty. The United States now intends to deploy new missiles of essentially the same type in Europe and, moreover, this is being done at a crucial moment, when talks have begun aimed at a decisive reduction in military confrontation in Europe. Such intentions, Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed, "cannot fail to provoke legitimate concern on the part of the Soviet Union. If the United States takes things as far as deploying such missiles in Europe, these actions could become the subject of discussion between the parties, for example, at the special control commission created by the USSR and the United States for the purpose of resolving matters relating to fulfillment by the parties of the obligations they have taken on themselves."

Discusses 18 May Hijack Attempt

LD2205130489 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT
22 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—An attempt to hijack a Soviet plane on the way from Luanda to Dar es Salaam has been thwarted as a result of resolute actions of the crew, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told reporters here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's Information Directorate, said that on May 18, one of the passengers on board the aircraft, using a home-made explosive device, ordered the crew to change course and land the plane in South Africa.

The hijacker himself was hurt in the attempt.

After the plane landed at Dar es Salaam airport, he was handed over to Tanzanian authorities which are investigating the act of air piracy.

No passenger was hurt. The plane, which is in good working order, was safely returned to Luanda by the same crew, the spokesman said.

Lushev Interviewed on Impressions of UK Visit

LD2105141189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1229 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 21 May (TASS)—The visit to Britain by Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, has ended. In an interview he told the TASS diplomatic correspondent about his impressions from the trip.

"The visit to Britain," the general noted, "was made at the invitation of Britain's Royal United Services Institute, at whose initiative a conference was held in London on problems of military policy, disarmament, and security in Europe. Taking account of the constantly mounting interest being manifested at present in Britain toward the new Soviet foreign policy initiatives, above all in the disarmament field, the leadership of the Royal United Services Institute invited me to address the participants of the conference on certain aspects of the activities of the Warsaw Pact to strengthen peace and confidence in Europe."

The meetings and conversations with a number of eminent British political and military leaders were fruitful in Lushev's view. "It is important to note," the general said, "that those participating in the forum included General John Galvin, supreme commander in chief of NATO's Joint Armed Forces in Europe. Thanks to this the first ever direct contact took place between the two commanders in chief of the two opposing military blocs."

According to the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, there was a serious discussion at the conference of the military-political situation in Europe. "The discussion was mainly about concepts of security and ways and means of reducing the level of military confrontation on the continent and, in this connection, about the military doctrines of the Warsaw Pact and NATO," he noted. In his view, a notable part in the debates was also played by the problem of reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. In General Lushev's view, the conference once again confirmed the difference of approach of the Warsaw Pact and certain NATO circles to the problem of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. "While the Warsaw Pact countries favor making this type of weapon the object of special negotiations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and jointly drawing up mutually-acceptable solutions, Washington and London are pursuing a policy of developing [sozdai] and siting [raspolozhit] in Europe the new 'Lance-2' missiles." The positions of the Warsaw Pact and NATO also perceptibly diverge on a number of other important problems.

"Summing up the visit, I would like to dwell on the positive aspect of things. We are united in our view of one thing: Contacts in the military sphere are a necessary and very important element in strengthening confidence-building measures in relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The time has come to think about how to go about arranging contacts on a regular basis between the two military alliances—the Warsaw Organization and NATO," said Army General Petr Lushev in conclusion.

Nuclear Policy Disputed During NATO Exercise
PM1705110189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 May 89 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent N. Miroshnik dispatch under the rubric "The Press Attests": "Two Keys in One Pocket"]

[Text] Rome, 15 May—"Mechanized formations of the Warsaw Pact countries invaded Yugoslavia. The Kremlin had decided that internal political and economic stability could be restored in that country only with the help of tanks. After capturing it, however, the troops continued their offensive and invaded Italian territory without stopping. At the same time a blow was struck from the GDR. The situation became critical. The headquarters of the NATO supreme command in Europe sent the governments of the bloc member states an urgent coded message: In just a few hours it may be necessary to use tactical nuclear weapons. Please give preliminary consent..."

Right up until this moment the scenario for the NATO "Wintex-89" command-staff exercises, held in West Europe from 24 February through 9 March, had gone without a hitch. These large-scale exercises, in which both leaders and members of the governments of all the bloc member countries were to take a direct part, had been 2 years in preparation. The purpose was to gather these countries' leaders together in crisis command centers set up in all capitals in case of an emergency and, together with the NATO command, to "play out" the beginning and development of military operations in Europe in the event of "Red" aggression. This time, incidentally, it was diplomatically called "Orange" aggression.

The major Italian newspaper *CORRIERE DELLA SERA* reports that a scandal erupted when, in accordance with the exercise scenario, the NATO command "decided" it was time to launch tactical nuclear missiles. For years there has been a debate over who really has his hands on the launch key for these missiles scattered about West Europe. And the United States has always assured the public that nuclear weapons are locked with two "keys." The Americans have one, and the governments of the corresponding countries the other: No missile will soar away without their consent, it is said.

But then such "consent" was required during the exercises. Bonn, Rome, and other capitals began urgently weighing all the pros and cons. It was at that moment that their crisis centers were notified: You can stop considering it, the missiles have already been launched.

CORRIERE DELLA SERA maintains that the allies' indignation knew no bounds. Bonn ostentatiously left the "game" altogether, without waiting for its end. Rome "banged its fist on the table" in fury but stayed. And at the final stage of the exercises it had to deal with a nuclear alarm: "Radioactive contamination" of the Apennine Peninsula caught most Italian troops unprepared either technically or tactically. This time, the newspaper writes, even usually disciplined Turkey did not conceal its irritation.

CORRIERE DELLA SERA points out that precisely the results of the exercises largely exacerbated the polemics over the modernization of nuclear missiles—polemics that have flared up in the NATO countries' capitals in recent weeks.

London International Information Forum Reviewed
18300596 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by T. Kolesnichenko and A. Lyutyy, PRAVDA special correspondents, city of London: "Truth Travels Without a Visa: London Information Forum Has Ended"]

[Text] This truth was confirmed once more in the course of history's first international information forum which just ended in London. Representatives of 33 European countries and also of the United States and Canada took part in it.

In our time information has become an integral and important part of the general European process of the rapprochement of peoples and the reinforcement of trust and mutual understanding among them. It is impossible not to agree with British Prime Minister M. Thatcher, who said at the opening of the forum: "If there is to be an all-European house, it will happen only in the event that its inhabitants are able to associate with one another freely and to speak to one another freely."

Perhaps the principal virtue of the meeting that took place, in our opinion, was the fact that for the first time not only "official persons" were represented—diplomats and politicians—but also those who are directly involved with information—the journalists. Among the 60 major suggestions introduced during the discussions, the initiatives of representatives of the mass media were predominant. They made a collective appeal to the forum (our representatives also signed it) in which the most urgent problems of their professional activity were presented. First of all, there is the matter concerning the speediest possible acquisition of visas—an end to the "visa war" waged at the expense of journalists, the

elimination of restrictions on movement around countries, including travel in regions where a crisis situation has developed, and improvement in working conditions. Lively and fruitful discussions at the forum reflected a very important fact which can become an example for other European meetings. Common human and professional interests prevailed over the philosophy of "blobs" and "camps." This enabled the newspaper *OBSERVER* to state that the "cold war" has ended. Now the war of the "journalists against the bureaucrats" has begun.

As for the bureaucrats, impartial words were also addressed to us. The everyday living and technical conditions of work for foreign journalists in the Soviet Union and the sluggishness of "Innostris" and GlavUPDK [Main Directorate of Diplomatic Corps Service] were criticized. However, statements were no less critical of the working conditions of journalists in the United States and other Western countries. As a result, Leonard Marks, the head of the American delegation and former director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), reported that he will recommend that the State Department review policy in the area of visa issuance and the procedures for the travel of foreign journalists in the country. I think, he said, it is time for the administration to take another look at this problem.

A group of proposals connected with cooperation in the area of the newest communication technology systems was extremely important. This was talked about, in particular, in speeches by delegates from the FRG, Spain, and other countries. It is impossible to imagine a world today that is divided into "technological camps." Technological interaction in the sphere of information should not be slowed down by obstacles of a political nature.

This concerns us as well. We have already drunk the bitter cup of experience, which shows that when accurate and true information is cut off, when it exists only for the select few, stagnation sets in and economic difficulties increase. And it was correctly noted at the forum that considerations of a tactical character that restrict the introduction of technological systems into everyday life, and which have become common in other places, can only hinder the development of countries.

About 20 Soviet journalists spoke at the forum. The audience received firsthand information on the restructuring processes in the sociopolitical life of the USSR from the general director of TASS and one of the managers of Soviet television, from the editors in chief of the newspaper *MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI* and the journal *NOVOYE VREMYA*, from the chairman of

Lithuania's Gostiradio [State Television and Radio] and the editor in chief of the newspaper *RADYANSKAYA UKRAINA*, and from representatives of *PRAVDA*, *IZVESTIYA*, *APN*, and other publications. On the other hand, we ourselves were able to check on the state of affairs in the area of information in the states of the CSCE and to make note of the experience which can be applied usefully to Soviet journalists.

Great interest was shown at the forum in our country's restructuring. Moreover, it was noted that the changes in Eastern Europe contributed to the successful work in London in a decisive way. The free exchange of opinions that existed, a Danish representative said "would not have been possible without the policy of glasnost and restructuring."

I would like to mention the favorable reaction to the Soviet idea for the creation of an all-European informational and cultural television program. The Soviet proposal for an all-European information council was also discussed widely. From our point of view, it could contribute to a live informal exchange of opinions with participation both by representatives of governmental organizations and representatives of the working press. However, this proposal was not received in the same way by all journalists. Many expressed the fear that the matter actually concerned the formation of yet another bureaucratic structure with centralized functions. But, in this regard, it seems to us that the main point is lost. Journalists, as distinguished from other "sections" of the all-European negotiating process—such as, for example, the "disarmers"—do not have their own "support base," and they need such a council. The forum is ending, and what now? Wait for Helsinki, for the year 1992? We need our own "springboard," our own base from which we could continue the work that was started in London. In this sense, the proposal of the northern states that a functioning seminar should be set up in the period between London and Helsinki in which to continue discussion of the problems of general European information exchanges is of interest.

The forum has ended. Each of the 35 states represented in the forum has its own history, destiny, and traditions. It is useless to try to compare everyone under one standard. It is futile to count on the fact that the approaches of the various states to matters of information will be the same, like a mirror image. In our opinion, the idea of cooperation under conditions of diversity is more fruitful and realistic. It is exactly what the forum that just ended showed, and it confirmed in a review of the discussions that despite the differences in political philosophies, practical agreements are entirely possible in such a delicate and ideologized sphere as information.

United States & Canada

Bush, Mitterrand Hold First Meeting 20 May
LD200520589 Moscow TASS in English 2033 GMT
20 May 89

[Text] Washington May 21 TASS—The first of the scheduled series of meetings was held on Saturday [20 May] between President George Bush of the United States and President Francois Mitterrand of France who arrived in the United States from Canada. The meeting took place in Kennebunkport, Maine, where President Bush is vacationing. The French-American summit is due to be held here with the participation of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

According to the presidential spokesman, the two presidents are going to discuss bilateral relations as well as a number of international problems, including the upcoming May 24-30 NATO summit in Brussels.

The talks between the French and American presidents are taking place against the background of the dispute within the Western alliance over whether to agree to East-West short-range nuclear missile negotiations and will include a search for ways to hammer out a compromise decision on the issue, the UPI news agency reported.

Before his visitors arrived, Bush told reporters that the meeting was very important to bilateral relations which were very strong but also very important to the alliance, the agency said.

Bush-Mitterrand News Conference
LD2205081389 Moscow TASS in English 0711 GMT
22 May 89

[Text] Washington May 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Stanislav Lutsyev: U.S. President George Bush and visiting French President Francois Mitterrand held a press conference in Boston, Massachusetts, on Sunday during which they spoke about the results of their talks.

According to President Bush, the main attention was paid to the forthcoming NATO summit and East-West relations. He said that the sides recognized the contribution that "the nuclear deterrent has made in keeping us free and secure and at peace". The American President also said that during the talks they discussed the main issues on the international agenda, including ways of advancing the peace process in the Middle East, the situation in Lebanon and questions of peace and democracy in the western hemisphere. The sides agreed that "more needs to be done in practical, realistic ways to deal with the environment".

President Bush stressed that it was very important to discuss with President Mitterrand the changes now taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The American President said that now "we are moving out of the cold war, and the chances are that this will be true for a very long time". He also said "there will be moments when things will be more difficult, doubtless but I don't imagine—I don't see us slipping right back into the cold war".

Speaking about events in China, President Bush encouraged restraint towards the demonstrators and called for a peaceful solution of the problem. According to the President, the United States "supports freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press" in China. He said that they would like to see the Chinese people having democracy but that the changes should be peacefully achieved. He also said that "to encourage steps that could lead to bloodshed would be inappropriate".

French President Francois Mitterrand expressed his satisfaction with the results of the talks.

Bush Expresses Appreciation for Gorbachev Arms Steps
LD200522589 Moscow World Service in English
2200 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] U.S. President George Bush has said that in his desire for a stable peace he wants to thank Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev for the steps he has been taking. President Bush was speaking on Sunday at Boston University.

In his speech, the American President spelled out the principles of his European policy. For one, U.S. partnership with its allies and U.S. relations with the Soviet Union.

George Bush pointed out there were more hopes to see a peaceful Europe. Nevertheless, implying the differences in NATO on the issue of tactical nuclear weapons, President Bush pointed out that this kind of American weapons in Europe must be maintained in line with the latest requirements.

'Peace' in USSR-U.S. Relations Continues
LD220504989 Moscow in English to North America
2200 GMT 20 May 89

["Moscow Viewpoint," by Valentin Zorin—read by announcer]

[Text] As I interviewed the U.S. secretary of state, James Baker, on Soviet television during his visit to the Soviet Union, I asked him: Can his visit to the Soviet Union and the talks he has had be considered as putting an end to the pause in the Soviet-American dialogue after the new administration took office? And Mr Baker replied:

[Begin Baker recording] The simple answer to that is yes. But the follow-on—in order to elaborate a bit if I might—is that I think you can perhaps go beyond that and say that we are now, in our view, fully re-engaged across the full range of our relations. [end recording]

When I heard that reply, I felt an urge to start a discussion. However, I could not because I did the interviewing. Now I would like to remark that Mr Baker's statement that the pause in Soviet-U.S. relations is over, looks rather doubtful. True, the resumption of Soviet-American relations at a high level is a favorable factor in itself, just as the agreement on a date for the resumption of talks on space and nuclear arms. However, judging by what administration officials have been saying, the talks will resume at the point they were suspended at the end of last year. One is bound to ask what the long period of meditation was needed for? Is there anything that can justify the loss of time and effort to solve one of the most important problems, that of a 50-percent cut in the strategic offensive arms of both countries?

Quite a few questions have arisen following the U.S. Administration's refusal to enter into negotiations on short-range nuclear arms offered by the Soviet Union. James Baker [words indistinct] now familiar arguments of the administration, but they don't explain the reasons for the refusal. The reference to conventional arms in which the Soviet Union and its allies ostensibly have an advantage is not very convincing, the more so since the Soviet Union has at the Vienna talks come out with proposals for fundamental cuts in these types of arms which would totally eliminate imbalances and asymmetries. Why can't Washington hold negotiations on conventional and short-range nuclear arms simultaneously? It's also hard to understand the American officials who have been claiming that the Soviet Union has more short-range nuclear missiles, but at the same time emphatically rejected the idea of negotiations to consider reductions or a comprehensive elimination of all short-range arms on a reciprocal basis.

This is the reason why I believe that the U.S. secretary of state failed to bring to Moscow anything that would make one say that the pause in Soviet-American relations is over. Apparently Washington is still unprepared for more constructive steps. It is my impression of Mr Baker's visit that the pause is continuing.

Matveyev Comments on Bush's Texas AAM Speech
PM2005132089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 May 89 Morning Edition p. 5

[V. Matveyev article under the rubric "Political Observer's Opinion": "No Standing Still"]

[Text] The George Bush administration's first 100 days in power have elapsed—a period after which Americans have a right to expect the new team to formulate in concrete terms its course on the main areas of policy. The formulation of recommendations for the government, despite in Washington note, is not yet complete, but the work already done gives the President justification for making a series of program statements, including a statement on the question of relations with our country.

The U.S. President shared his thoughts and ideas on this score in a speech at Texas University.

What conclusions can be drawn from what he said? Is the present American administration prepared for further progressive development of relations with our country? For an energetic, joint quest—as the existing situation dictates—for solutions to problems in the path of strengthening the world's foundations, the path of its normalization, demilitarization, and humanization?

Life itself poses these questions. Much has been set in motion. More and more Western figures are calling on Washington to respond constructively and offer answering initiatives to the "Kremlin's dynamism." Fresh words are penetrating NATO's nerve centers too.

There are some new features and ideas in the U.S. President's speech. True, to say that they predominate would be to sin against the truth, because the speech is rather contradictory in nature. The comparison that springs to mind is of a horseman simultaneously spurring on and reining back his horse.

"The time has now come to move on from the strategy of deterrence and go over to a new policy—the policy of the nineties, which will take full account of the changes taking place everywhere in the world, and in the Soviet Union itself," Bush said.

These formulas impose commitments. But what is the essence of the course being developed? Questions immediately arise that do not receive a satisfactory explanation. The U.S. President states that his administration will "seek to bring the Soviet Union into the world community." Not without reservation. "As glasnost and democratization develop in the Soviet Union—to the extent that these processes come up to the standards of responsible behavior in the international arena—we will respond to their actions with similar actions on our part," Bush states.

So it is suggested that our country should show goodwill—and only in some indefinite future, when Washington decides that the other side has done enough, is it proposed to respond to the Soviet Union's actions in any positive way.

This way of looking at things runs counter to what many influential figures in a milieu close to the present leadership in Washington are saying and writing at present.

George Church, in *TIME* magazine, puts it like this: "Bush basically proposes to do nothing, and wait until Gorbachev takes the next step on the path to lessening tension, and probably then the next step, and the next." And what if the Soviet Union does not agree to this approach? "Then," the American journalist notes,

"Washington will lose a historic opportunity to put an end to the cold war and begin to change relations between the nuclear superpowers by moving from competition to cooperation."

That is reasonable. One cannot, indeed, expect our country constantly to move forward in the face of an immobile United States.

That is the first thing that comes to mind in connection with what Bush said. Then there is the question of "bringing the USSR into the world community." Our country is part of the world community, as are the United States and other states. The task is to move toward greater unity in the modern world, toward an understanding of its interconnected, interdependent nature, in order to resolve the complex problems facing mankind. This way of looking at things, which found expression in M.S. Gorbachev's speech from the UN platform, met with wide support in the world.

Unfortunately a different approach, marked by recurrences of old can still be sensed in Washington's practice. The impression is that at the moment people in the American capital are more concerned to warn other Western governments against the Soviet Union's intentions than to make efforts to resolve the knotty problems in the international arena that are hampering freedom of action to stabilize the world situation and curb the arms race.

"We should not forget that the Soviet Union has created an impressive military potential," George Bush says, ending the sentence there. But it requires a continuation, since a no less impressive potential of this kind has been created by the United States and its NATO allies. And it is not a question of forgetting or not forgetting that fact, but of making joint efforts to reduce the size of this potential and seek to stop the arms race.

There is no escaping the fact that during the visit to Moscow by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker the Soviet side put to the American side a number of new, far-reaching proposals in the disarmament sphere. Moscow awaits a businesslike response to these initiatives from Washington. And not only Moscow. The capitals of a number of West European countries, partners of the United States, also await an answer.

In this context it will be possible to discuss new measures of international verification and inspection of the fulfillment of agreements signed in the disarmament sphere. Yet in the same speech President Bush proposed embarking on the implementation of reconnaissance flights by U.S. and Soviet aircraft, in addition to satellites, "to observe the military activity" of the two sides. But what is the use of such "openness" if it does not result in lower levels of military confrontation?

The phrase in the American President's speech to the effect that "the Soviet Union should acknowledge the integrity of China" also cannot but cause perplexity. How are we to

understand it? It is well known that it is not our country, but the United States that does not yet recognize certain facts concerning the integrity of the PRC, if we think about Washington's position on Taiwan.

The phrase in the same speech about the "iron curtain" that our country should supposedly remove is equally incomprehensible, to put it mildly. This, you know, is 1989, not 1946!

In an interview for THE WASHINGTON TIMES after his Texas University speech G. Bush said that the Soviet Union "has nothing to fear" from the United States, since it is not planning to attack the USSR. Therefore, as he put it, the USSR has no need to spend such a large proportion of its gross national product on arms. These resources could be used for civil needs.

The same applies fully to the United States. It too has "nothing to fear" from our country, and no need to spend vast sums on arms. Bush himself admitted in that interview that the USSR is not planning war. He observed that he is worried about the USSR's superiority in conventional arms. But our country has reason for concern over the imbalance in favor of the United States in a number of other spheres. Therefore we should not delay in drawing up agreements to lower the levels of military confrontation. It is good that it has now been decided to resume talks on strategic offensive arms. It is bad that Washington is still avoiding talks on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, which, incidentally, are now called for by the majority of West European governments.

The burden of the past still hangs heavy, it is clear, on some aspects of Washington's policy, despite the American leaders' recognition of the fact of the changes that have taken place in our country. This kind of ballast hampers progress.

U.S. Imposes 'Economic Aggression' in Panama
18000929 Moscow PRATDA in Russian
3 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by V. Lashov: "Opposing the Giant"]

[Text] The current encounter with the Panamanian capital was like an encounter with an old friend, except that that old "friend" immediately started presenting surprises.

They began as soon as the car pulled away from the spacious, beautifully finished airport bearing the name of the late Panamanian general Omar Torrijos. Some 10-12 years ago, thick tropical growth edged the highway to the city from both sides for dozens of kilometers. Today, the capital's suburbs march almost up to the very airport.

Surprises also awaited me in the capital itself. True, the changes had not touched its historical center and the construction of the colonial period, the blindingly white presidential palace, or the charming Square of France, with its statue of Ferdinand de Lesseps, the initiator of

the construction of the Panama Canal. But the changes are striking as soon as you walk away from the center. And the most important of them is that Panama has grown upwards in recent years.

The main thoroughfare, the avenue of Spain, has been built up and beautified. On the famous Malecon, the embankment bearing the name of the Spanish conquistador Vasco Nunez de Balboa, the "first discoverer of the Pacific Ocean," contemporary buildings of foreign banks and offices have sprung up.

This is the better side of the coin. The obverse is as unattractive as it used to be. The socio-economic problems of unemployment, insufficient housing, complications with medical services and education which used to be so acute for the working sectors of the population have remained unsolved, and since the summer of 1987, when Washington imposed a financial and trade blockade of Panama, the situation has become even more acute.

As a result of the U.S. economic aggression, the construction boom with which the country had lived in recent years, was quickly halted; construction sites were paralyzed. The construction of housing affordable to low-income Panamanians has stopped completely, and many families, who crowd into the time-blackened board shacks without basic amenities which have remained in the center of the city since the time of the construction of the Panama Canal have lost hope of receiving more or less normal housing.

The crisis which has paralyzed construction has not spared other branches of the economy either: industry, tourism and trade. As I was told in the country's statistical administration, in the first 18 months of the U.S. economic aggression, 50,000 have joined the ranks of the army of "superfluous people." Unemployment now encompasses more than one-third of the population able to work.

Panama was far from a safe city in previous years. The situation has become even more tense. Friends and acquaintances warned me from the first day: "Don't go there. It's better not to have your camera while on the street. If they demand your money, give it up." Unemployment and its faithful companion, crime, have become entrenched in other cities as well.

Recently president Solis Palma announced from the tribune of the legislative assembly that the economic aggression of the United States had led to a 43 percent drop in treasury income, a reduced demand for capital investment and a 70 percent reduction of the annual internal production. "The country is missing 300 million dollars because Washington has frozen Panamanian hard currency accounts in the United States. Hard currency receipts from sugar have fallen, as Washington has annulled the Panamanian sugar quota. American companies active in Panama are forbidden to pay the Panamanian treasury direct or indirect taxes.

While decisively condemning the economic aggression of the United States, the simple Panamanians do not hide their dissatisfaction with the deepening stratification, with the fact that there has arisen an entire stratum of people who are turning the new situation to their own use. The local press now and then discloses cases of corruption, misconduct and financial machinations. It is not by accident that you see on the houses in the capital's center the slogan: "Sovereignty, yes; bread, housing and work, too!"

Washington had asserted that Panama would not last even 2 months after the imposition of the blockade, that its government would crash as a result of the inevitable financial chaos. But almost 2 years, not 2 months, have passed, and the country has not fallen apart. The financial difficulties are gradually being overcome, and the political regime and the position of the government have been strengthened.

Incidentally, the financial crisis which Panama is experiencing strikes the uninvolved observer as unusual. The stores are full of goods and products, boisterous trade is taking place in the streets; cafe and restaurant owners are not complaining about a lack of customers. The question involuntarily arises: "A crisis, when they have everything?" Owing to what forces and resources, hidden from outside view, is little Panama managing to withstand the opposition of the mightiest power of the capitalist world?

The search for the answers to these questions led me to the office of one of the leaders of the central control administration of Panama, the highly visible economist (Amilkar Villarreal). This is what he said:

"In order to understand the current situation, we must return to its roots, the beginning of the financial blockade. The United States calculated on bringing Panama to its knees, on forcing it to request the assistance of international financial circles, that is, in the United States itself. Washington had hoped to thus lock our financial door with this 'key,' since dollars are our circulating currency. But it is not in vain that we, too, have studied American neomonetarist theory. I myself studied at Milton Friedman's 'school' in Chicago. We took responsive measures—for example, changing the system of salary payment to state employees allowed us to reduce the needed amount of cash by one-half."

Soon a sufficient quantity of dollars appeared in the country. Thus, the American banking company "Chiriqui Land" was forced to begin paying in dollars the salaries of its tens of thousands of workers and employees. The Canal administration also began to pay in cash. Americans who want to avoid paying taxes in the United States continued to invest in Panamanian banks. Even the country's private sector, against its will, did its share: it had to get dollars from its accounts in the United States and import them to Panama, as all current accounts in local banks were frozen.

"Toward the present time, the run on assets of foreign banks has stopped," says A. Villarreal. "Half of the 38 billion dollars remained in the country. The flow of cash dollars has grown so much that there are now more than enough of them. But we cannot yet resolve one problem which has great national significance—I have in mind long-range international advancing of loans."

Another of my interlocutors, Nils Castro, the secretary for international relations of the ruling revolutionary democratic party, underscored the significance of the political factors.

"The main issue for Panamanians now is not economic, but national: the defense of our sovereignty, as expressed in the demand for strict observance of the Torrijos-Carter treaty, stipulating the transfer of the Canal to Panama by the year 2000 and eliminating all American military bases on our soil. The economic aggression of the United States has caused an outpouring of patriotic sentiments among the people; it has shown that beyond the achievement of our main national goals there remains a prolonged and tense struggle. The past 2 years have demonstrated the growing political consciousness of the Panamanians. The reactions despite all efforts did not succeed in turning the people against the government. There is, of course, dissatisfaction, but this is conditioned chiefly by economic difficulties and unemployment. On the political level, the basic mass of the Panamanians approves of the government's nationalistic course just as before, and of the defense supporting the government's strength."

It should be added to what was said by A. Villarreal and N. Castro that internal factors have played no small role. The vacuum formed in connection with the blockade was quickly filled by others. The activity of business circles of Spain, South Korea and Hong Kong was set into motion. The Japanese took a wait-and-see attitude: while reducing their supply of goods to Panama, playing into Washington's hands, they nevertheless preserve their "presence," and this is evaluated as "benevolent neutrality" by many Panamanians. All in all, it can be said that Washington has not succeeded in isolating Panama, in circling it within an international cordon.

The problem of current and future relations with the United States prevails over the political life of Panama, and it has become white hot in connection with the impending 7 May presidential and parliamentary elections. The thing is that this time Washington has resorted to gross interference with others' affairs, having allocated 10 million dollars to finance the pre-electoral campaign of the Panamanian opposition. In connection with this, Panama has requested that the UN Security Council convene.

Without getting into details of the sudden troubles of the pre-electoral campaign which the United States is trying to play up, I will only say that the the fundamental skirmish unfolding between government supporters,

united in the Coalition for National Liberation (COLINA), and its opponents, who have created the so-called Democratic Alliance of Civic Opposition (ADO). The essence of COLINA's program is in its slogan "COLINA—yes, colony, no!" ADO is building its campaign on anti-government slogans, on dim promises for changes, primarily in the vein of "defending people's rights" and "improving relations with the United States."

"...I won't sell my homeland—not a step back!"—is written on the T-shirts worn by the members of the "Dignity Battalion," the people's groupings formed for the country's defense in the event of armed intervention by the United States. Panamanian patriots see in the unity of the people and the defense forces the guarantee of sovereignty, the pledge of success in the struggle for democracy and social progress.

China

Sino-Soviet Summit, Gorbachev Visit Evaluated

Opens New Stage in Relations

PM2005171089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 89 First Edition p.1

[Editorial: "A Totally New Level: On the Results of M.S. Gorbachev's Visit to the PRC"]

[Text] The Soviet Union and the PRC—the two biggest states in the world, where more than one-fourth of mankind lives—have normalized their relations. That is the main outcome of the official visit by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the PRC 15 through 18 May. What was accomplished in Beijing is of truly historic significance for the future not only of two countries and two peoples, but the whole world. The news sped around the planet and gripped the attention of the broad world public.

The Soviet leader's stay in the ancient Chinese land was packed with fruitful work. The talks at the highest level—with leading figures in the Chinese state, the republic State Council, and the CPC—took place in an open, friendly atmosphere.

The Soviet-Chinese summit meeting took place after a 30-year period of mutual alienation. The path to this event, which was extraordinary by any standards, was not easy, and required wisdom, responsibility, and persistence from both sides in overcoming negative accretions and prejudices.

It is no exaggeration to say that these 4 days in May opened a completely new stage in relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC. It is a question of transferring to a stable, sound basis relations between two socialist states with a shared border 7,500 km long. This basis consists of the universal principles of interstate relations—mutual

respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. It was decided not to return to the relations of the fifties, but at the same time to free relations from the confrontation of the sixties and seventies.

The deepening of mutual understanding and trust will enable our countries to concentrate more fully on peaceful, creative labor and increase resources for the resolution of the topical problems of Soviet restructuring and Chinese reforms, and this will be promoted not least by the implementation of measures to demilitarize the Soviet-Chinese borders and turn them into a border of peace and good-neighborliness.

Wide scope for mutually beneficial cooperation is opened up in the main sphere of human activity: the economy. In this sphere, despite some progress in recent years, there are still considerable reserves and untapped potential. The vast resources of the USSR and the PRC are patently not matched by bilateral trade, which last year only approached \$2 billion. The relevant departments in the two states must define promising spheres of application of joint efforts, resolve complex questions of pricing, help labor collectives find partners, and, in short, ensure a transition from the traditional forms of cooperation to modern, progressive, more effective forms. A considerable increase in Soviet-Chinese trade and economic links could be ensured in the near future, which would accord with the interests of both the Soviet and the Chinese peoples.

Contacts between the public and workers in culture and art, and wide communication between people make it possible to make our relations more full-blooded, open, and democratic.

A considerable reserve for the development of business-like collaboration lies in cooperation on a long-term footing between union republics, krais, and oblasts of the USSR and provinces and autonomous regions of the PRC. It is important now to resolve the border issues left over from the past justly, on the basis of treaties concerning the present Soviet-Chinese border, in accordance with generally accepted international legal norms, and in the spirit of equal consultations, mutual understanding, and reciprocal concessions.

The talks between the general secretaries of the two ruling parties' Central Committees led to the normalization of CPSU-CPC relations. Interparty ties will develop in accordance with the principles of independence and autonomy, full equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. The exchange of concrete experience of party work has come to the fore, at the level of the Central Committees and their departments as well as regional and plant party committees and between social scientists.

There was also an exchange of opinions in Beijing on international problems of mutual interest. As the joint communique notes, the normalization of USSR-PRC relations not only meets the vital interests and aspirations of the peoples of the two states, but also promotes the safeguarding of peace and stability throughout the world. The principled accords in Beijing are not directed against third countries and are not detrimental to their interests.

The speeches of the leaders of the Soviet Union and China and the concluding document set forth positions and concepts embodying their ideas on the nature of present-day international relations. Our positions do not coincide in everything. But there is no reason to dramatize that fact. There is wide scope for collaboration in the international arena, first and foremost in the resolution of cardinal problems of today and questions of mankind's survival. The USSR and the PRC consider it necessary to promote a radical improvement in the world situation. They welcome the detente that has begun in international affairs and assess positively the efforts and concrete steps of various states to reduce arms and lessen military confrontation and the progress achieved in settling regional conflicts.

The attention of the world public was attracted by the statement of the USSR and the PRC that they do not claim hegemony in any form in the Asia-Pacific region or other parts of the globe.

The USSR and PRC leaders discussed comprehensively and in depth questions relating to the settlement of the Cambodia problem. They expressed a commitment to the view that civil war should not break out on Khmer soil after the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. The Soviet Union and China would like to see that country independent, peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned. Despite the differences that exist on this question, the Soviet and Chinese sides confirmed that they will continue to promote the speediest just and rational settlement of the Cambodia problem by political means.

M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to the PRC and his talks with the PRC leaders were a historic milestone in the development of bilateral ties and a weighty joint contribution to the resolution of the urgent problems of today and the strengthening of peace and security on the Asian Continent. The accords reached in Beijing create a solid political basis for a completely new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations, to the benefit of the two friendly countries and the whole world.

Summit Starts 'Historic New Stage'

PM2005155489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Mission of Peace and Good-Neighborliness"]

[Text] "Long-Awaited Visit"—this was the headline under which the first reportage by IZVESTIYA's special correspondents from the Chinese capital was published

on the eve of M.S. Gorbachev's arrival in Beijing. And it was indeed a long time, nearly 3 decades, that our countries' peoples waited for this event, which was to mark the end of a distressing period of mutual alienation, negative accretions, and prejudices that overshadowed Soviet-Chinese relations.

Now, considering the results of the Soviet leader's 4-day visit, one can say with complete confidence that that long period of anticipation was not in vain. "Let the wind blow away the past, and let us look ahead," Comrade Deng Xiaoping suggested in his first talk with M.S. Gorbachev. The answer was unequivocal: "That is entirely in accordance with the Soviet Union's approach." It could not be otherwise, because in the hearts and minds of millions of people on both sides of the Soviet-Chinese border the unforgotten interest in each other never died down and mutual sympathy was never extinguished. Its roots are deep, going back to the two greatest revolutions of our century—1917 in Russia and 1949 in China. We were united by traditional feelings of good-neighborliness, mutually advantageous economic and cultural ties, and lofty manifestations of solidarity between the working people who embarked on a path of building a new life. Despite the period of difficult relations we have now left behind, these traditions are not forgotten.

The program for the visit was extremely full and intensive. M.S. Gorbachev's conversations and talks with the Chinese leaders took place in a warm and constructive atmosphere. They were permeated by the desire to seek necessary and acceptable solutions, with respect for each other's views and positions. The results of these talks are of enormous importance. Chief among them is the normalization of interstate and interparty relations. "We are entering a new stage," the Soviet leader noted in a Chinese television interview, "the past is closed, and great opportunities for cooperation are opening up before us. We were principled, we were frank, and this enabled us to exchange opinions on a wide range of problems."

In the course of the talks both sides spoke of the expediency of extending cooperation in the economy, science, and technology. The desirability of transferring this cooperation onto a long-term, modern footing was emphasized. There was also a very useful exchange of opinions on questions of the forms and methods of socialist development. Both sides showed an interest in the transformations and reforms now in progress, which are intended to take socialism to new heights and make it more up-to-date and of higher quality.

The Soviet and Chinese leaders discussed in detail the further prospects for military detente. Both sides expressed readiness to reduce the troops stationed in the Soviet-Chinese border regions. An accord was also achieved on giving additional impetus to talks on a border settlement.

All these problems discussed at the talks were then recorded in detail in the Soviet-Chinese Joint Communiqué adopted on the results of the visit. The normalization of interstate relations between the Soviet Union and China, this epoch-making document notes, "meets the vital interests and aspirations of the two countries' peoples and helps to preserve peace and stability throughout the world." And that is indisputable, because the Soviet and Chinese leaders devoted due attention to the problems of stability and the need to promote a radical improvement in the international situation, along with their discussion of bilateral relations. Such topical problems of global significance as peace and development, the curbing of the arms race, questions of ecology, and regional conflicts were discussed.

The results of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the PRC and his talks with the Chinese leaders prompted a wide response among the foreign mass media, and are being commented on in detail by statesmen, public figures, and political observers. "The rapprochement between the Soviet Union and China is an event that marks a major turning point in international relations," Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke stated. "The path of reconciliation will not always be easy, but now that the two states have embarked on that path, all Australians wish them well." There was also a positive assessment of the visit in the capitals of Japan, India, the United States, France, Thailand, and many other countries.

As already reported, speaking at a meeting with the Chinese public, M.S. Gorbachev dwelt in detail on the problem of reducing the USSR's Armed Forces in the Far East. This statement by the Soviet leader was greeted with great satisfaction in nearly all countries of the Asia-Pacific region.

During the Beijing talks a special place was devoted to the prospects for a Cambodian settlement. And this is no accident, because Soviet-Chinese consultations are held regularly on this problem. But complete unity of views was not achieved at the present talks, although the sides reaffirmed that they will continue to make efforts to promote the speediest just and rational settlement of this problem by political means. "Of course," M.S. Gorbachev noted, "the Soviet Union and China are independent in decisionmaking. Each has its own priorities; our viewpoints do not always coincide. But there is a wide area where such collaboration is both possible and expedient. This applies first and foremost to our joint contribution to the resolution of the global problems of today and the strengthening of peace and security on the Asian Continent."

The two states' commitment, recorded in the joint communiqué, to promote radical improvement of the international situation was also an important contribution to strengthening peace and security. In this context the Soviet side advocates the establishment of the new

political thinking in international relations, while the Chinese side advocates the establishment of a new international political order based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

The 4-day program for the high-ranking Soviet guest's stay in the PRC was extensive. Apart from Beijing, M.S. Gorbachev visited Shanghai, where he was welcomed warmly and cordially by the working people of the country's biggest industrial center. However, not all the items in the busy program prepared beforehand could be carried out. During the visit a difficult political dialogue was taking place in the country between the country's leadership and Beijing's young people. Speaking at a press conference before his departure from Beijing, the Soviet leader expressed the wish that the capital's inhabitants may find solutions that will continue China's successful progress along its chosen path—that of uncovering socialism's potential in the interests of all the Chinese people.

The first visit to the PRC by a Soviet leader for 30 years has ended. It heralded a historic new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations. Ahead lies a long path of creative work based on the universal principles of interstate contact and peaceful coexistence. "Close the past and open the future." This call by the leaders of the two great socialist powers is a true guide for our fraternal peoples.

Yakovlev Interviewed on Summit

LD2105183689 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1400 GMT 21 May 89

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Vladimir Sholin; interview with Aleksandr N. Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat member, by NOVOSTI correspondent (Stanislav Polnikov); date, place of interview not given—recorded; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] [Sholin] Courtesy of NOVOSTI we are able to bring you an interview with Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

[Correspondent (Stanislav Polnikov)] (Stanislav Polnikov), NOVOSTI, NBC [expansion unknown]. Aleksandr Nikolayevich, the official part of the visit is virtually over. What do you see as the main outcome?

[Yakovlev] If I had the time and decided to write a book, I would call it "Thirty Years and Three Days" because there was a 30-year period of totally unjustified unfriendliness, in some years even aggravated hostility and strange confrontation—military, political, and ideological. It is now almost impossible to give a sensible or rational explanation for this. I guess it is only the historians who, with difficulty, will come up with some reasons for what happened in the past. I think that it is neither useful nor necessary for us to delve into these issues now, since we must look ahead.

I would, therefore, answer your question as follows. The most important aspect of what has happened over these 3 days, after 30 years, is the great reconciliation—if I can express my impressions of today, given that we were on the Great Wall—the great reconciliation between two peoples, two countries, and two great states. And I would say this is a major historical event, an event on a truly historic scale. After all, two great states with such an enormous border, with such solid traditions of friendship and cooperation, two socialist powers. [Yakovlev changes thought] And suddenly we witnessed what I would call a historic discontinuity. Yet now, over these 3 days, both sides have in fact stated that relations are normalized. And in my view this is a capacious word, one which encompasses a broad spectrum of cooperation in all areas: economics, politics, culture—indeed, all areas. No areas are excluded, particularly since inter-party links are being restored. This is perhaps the most important thing, this is what is most important.

[Polnikov] Well, you have virtually answered—partially—my second question, about whether the matter of the ideological disagreements of the sixties and seventies will be raised at the interparty level, and about what the CPSU leadership's view of the reasons for those disagreements is. Nonetheless, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, this is a question that will evidently figure on the agenda. How is it to be answered?

[Yakovlev] Yes, possibly, if ideological disagreements are to be discussed. But here, I think, we will come up against difficulties. There is the difficulty that first of all we must find the people who so diligently organized those ideological disagreements on both sides. Because to the people who are going to be involved in interparty links and with the ideological issues of that period. [Yakovlev changes thought] If they were to be thrown back into the past, it is hardly likely they would succeed in understanding what, in fact, it was all about. But there is hardly any point in digging out those people, in finding them, because I think they—the people who were there at the beginning of the ideological disagreements, who thought up, by fair means or foul, all those postulates, dogmas, and stereotypes for mutual accusation—I think that now they would probably simply renounce them, if they have enough courage, intellect, and common sense. That is why I do not think we ought now, even where ideological cooperation is concerned, to think back to the past. That would be uninteresting, it would be terribly boring and, most importantly, it would be a waste of time.

As far as the organization of ideological cooperation is concerned, no doubt it is still too early to talk about this in full measure, though we can already say the following now: complicated processes, the development of socialist society, are taking place in both countries. Both countries are shaking off the dogmas of the past and seeking new paths. They are trying to restore to socialism its original conception, to impart a humanistic, democratic, image to it. Along this road I think we have very many

problems is common arising from the search—the theoretical search, the practical search, the political search. What are the original features that should be inherent in the new socialist society—democratism, glasnost, economic democracy, freedom of the individual, freedom of expression, and so on? Very many problems arise. I think there is a wide field for cooperation here.

[Polzikov] These 3 days have enabled us to open a new page in our relations—that is to say, there are historical roots—but this is an absolutely new stage. Can we interpret what has begun today in that way?

[Yakovlev] I think the answer is both yes and no. The fact that a new stage in our relations has indeed begun is beyond question. Here one could hardly argue with putting the question in that way. But the meetings that have taken place today between Mikhail Sergeyevich and the students and the workers, with ordinary people...

[Polzikov, interrupting] You mean on the Great Wall of China?

[Yakovlev] Both on the Great Wall of China and here, too, he stopped on the streets. The conversations he had indicate that the roots put down at one time in bilateral relations, no matter how surprising it may seem, have evidently produced some very good shoots despite the 30-year period of artificial propaganda in both directions, the one against the other, the cultivation of unfriendly feelings of certain kinds, and so on. Frankly speaking, this was a personal discovery for me. I believed that the young people are, after all, a new generation that has grown up during these 30 years. They do not know how this all began. Nevertheless, somehow, in some way, by some means, it is difficult to say even—perhaps the sociologists ought to study this now—but suddenly today despite everything that has taken place during these 30 years it came out...

[Polzikov, interrupting] You mean the affection...

[Yakovlev] Affection for the Soviet Union, greetings addressed to us, support for our policy, even, I would say, applause for the Soviet Union. And of course this is not just very gratifying, it is encouraging and provides some optimism that the Soviet Union and China are embarking on the correct path of renewing socialist society on absolutely new principles.

[Polzikov] Nevertheless, to what extent will the restoration of interparty links promote the development of interstate relations?

[Yakovlev] I think all of this should move in parallel; these things should complement one another, especially since specifics are making an appearance here under the new conditions. Both we and they are now implementing a policy whereby the party deals with its affairs, the government bodies, the executive bodies, deal with their affairs, and the legislative bodies deal with their affairs. The

parties, therefore, are finding that they have their own specific interests with regard to each other. In the first place, this means getting to know each other's experience, how the parties and the communions should behave in this complex period of transition. Here one of the most complicated tasks is the psychological one. All the same, much experience of high-handedness in administration has been built up, by virtue of historical circumstances. That is how things were at a particular stage in historical development. But things must not be like that now. And if we can, if the two parties can throw off the burden of high-handed administration and the feeling of responsibility that at times is not necessary—of pseudo-responsibility for all matters, then we will be doing something good. But here, too, no doubt we ought to consult each other's experience, and I think that will be very useful.

[Polzikov] Well then, to complete our conversation today which has taken up so much of your time, perhaps you could tell us of your own personal impressions? Three days is not much, but nevertheless...

[Yakovlev] You see, this is the first time I have been to China. I have read a lot, I have heard even more, and insofar as relations with China over the last 30 years have been at the epicenter of the ideological struggle... [sentence incomplete as heard] Thank goodness I was lucky; I was not involved in that. [Yakovlev laughs] It is easy for me to start with a clean slate. But I was struck most of all first by the identical nature of the problems being solved by the two parties, the two states, and the two governments, taking into account some particularities of each other's traditions, national characteristics, and so on. That is the first thing. The second is the friendliness shown by the Chinese people to this visit—the enthusiasm, I would call it, with which particularly the young people, but not only the young people, are reacting to this visit. Of course, this is great. It is very good.

[Polzikov] Do you think it has given them what they expected? After all, very many Chinese prepared for this visit and expected something from it, did they not?

[Yakovlev] You know, in my opinion this visit was preordained for success by its significance. Preordained. Because both countries were waiting for the normalization of these relations. And if you ask any Soviet person, he will answer that it was some kind of triviality that happened between the two countries, just as the Chinese now answer that they really do not understand what happened between the two countries, and insofar as both sides have now declared for all to hear that they are normalizing their relations in all areas: state, government, and interparty—of course, that fact is of itself immense—and I think it will satisfy any sensible person. All the more so, since this visit is not aimed against anyone, not against our neighbors, or the Chinese neighbors, not against anyone in the world. It is in the interest of both our own peoples.

[Poliznikov] But a change in the disposition of forces in the world will take place in some form or another—at least our colleagues, our partners on the other side of the Atlantic will look at this visit from that point of view, too. They will look at it; that does not mean that they will evaluate it like that.

[Yakovlev] You know, I personally do not support the idea of the so-called disposition of forces in the world. In our time, when war is becoming an absurd idea, when regional conflicts are becoming obsolete, when whole regions of the world simply do not think of the possibility of any sort of conflicts, wars, and so on, when the process of disarmament is in full swing, I think that to talk about the disposition, about changes in the disposition of forces, about some sort of disposition of forces, is less and less relevant, less and less. But if you look at it in terms of the disposition of forces for the good of peace, the disposition of forces for the good of common sense, the disposition of forces for the good of cultural development, for the gaining of some new heights of culture and struggle against lack of culture, against spiritual poverty, well, if you look at the disposition of forces from that point of view, then I think it is simply that the potential of the healthy forces is increasing. That is all, really.

But in the normal, ordinary sense of that word, as political scientists usually consider it—as the number of weapons, machine guns, guns, planes, ships—in my opinion, all that is becoming less and less relevant, and more and more ridiculous. That is what I think.

[Poliznikov] Thank You, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, many, many thanks.

[Yakovlev] It is a pleasure.

PRC Daily Welcomes Normalization

LD1905143189 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT
19 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 19 TASS—The Sino-Soviet summit meeting signals the normalization of relations between the two countries. It is followed by the normalization of relations between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU), the RENMEN RIBAO newspaper, the organ of the CCP Central Committee, today writes in its leader.

Thanks to this meeting, which is of historic significance, the Sino-Soviet relations have reached a new point after 30 years of alienation.

Enormous changes have occurred in the world now. It witnesses global transition from confrontation to dialogue, from tension to détente. The relations of a new type between the People's Republic of China and the USSR are not directed against any third country, are not detrimental to the interests of other states and do not affect their own relations with other countries.

The normalization meets the aspirations of the peoples of China, the Soviet Union and of the entire world, the interests of stability and development in the Asia-Pacific Region, the interests of peace and security the world over.

During the Sino-Soviet summit meeting, the leaders of the two socialist countries exchanged views on questions before socialism now, the RENMEN RIBAO writes. Facts show that there cannot be an invariable model of socialism and Marxists-Leninists in various countries should build socialism proceeding from a real situation in their country and in line with their conditions.

The normalization of Sino-Soviet relations proceeded not easily. Meaningful progress was achieved in this today thanks to the two countries' joint efforts. The normalization will undoubtedly help boost links in a variety of areas of the two countries' social life. Some of the problems, however, were left unresolved, specifically, the Kampuchean issue. Further efforts are required to settle it.

The recent visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to China opened a new page in the chronicles of Sino-Soviet relations. Both sides agreed to continue the exchange of views and dialogue between the two countries' leaders. This is of immense importance to a further development of ties between China and the Soviet Union, the RENMEN RIBAO concludes.

Shanghai Protests, Visit Viewed

PM1905180089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 May 89 Morning Edition p.1

[Special correspondents V. Kobyshev, Yu. Savchenkov report from Beijing: "Four Remarkable Days"]

[Excerpts] So M.S. Gorbachev's historic visit to the PRC has ended. On Thursday the high-ranking guest and those accompanying him spent the whole day in Shanghai. There were warm meetings with the leaders of China's biggest city—Jiang Zemin, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Shanghai City party committee, and Zhu Rongji, mayor of the city; a visit to Minghan, an area of economic and technical development, improvised meetings with Shanghai people; and a touching ceremony to lay flowers at the A.S. Pushkin monument, where there was a brief, cordial conversation with Shanghai people. [passage omitted]

Enlightened Well Street—there is a street by that name in Shanghai—leads into the Minghan zone, which greets the guest with a huge banner in Russian: "A warm welcome to Chairman Gorbachev." The purpose of this zone is to create favorable conditions for foreign investors, borrow foreign machinery and technology and modern management methods, expand exports, and obtain currency. M.S. Gorbachev was told about this by Lu Youming, general manager of the Minghan company. The director believes that one reason for the growth in foreign investments is the

concessionary terms granted by both the central government and the local authorities. The district, which is opening up new horizons, makes successful use of Shanghai's traditional advantages—good industry, a technical base, a developing currency market, and skilled manpower. Here M.S. Gorbachev viewed a demonstration hall where output from local enterprises was displayed, and also saw how elevators are assembled at a joint enterprise with the Japanese firm Mitsubishi.

During his meeting with Shanghai's leaders, M.S. Gorbachev spoke of great interest in this world-famous city, whose history is associated with the birth of the CPC. Once again, as in Beijing, it was said that these few days in China are epoch-making, because we are witnessing the transition to a new stage in our relations, when they will be filled with new content and new substance.

In the streets, the people of Shanghai showed sincere interest in the Soviet leader's arrival. On Nangin Street, in the very center of the city, we talked with a group of students from the famous Fudan University here. They expressed sincere satisfaction with the results of the Soviet leader's visit and spoke of the common destiny that links our peoples, and how we should appreciate each other more along this complex path of renewal and not waste time on arguments.

Also, the young people said, it is necessary to resolutely carry out political reform. In China at one time there were academic disputes about priorities and what should come before what—political reform before economic, or vice versa. Now we feel that they should go together, as inseparable as twins.

We have already written about how M.S. Gorbachev's visit took place against the background of dramatic events in Beijing. Here in Shanghai, too, we saw banners expressing support for democracy and freedom of the press and protesting corruption and bureaucracy. The newspapers reported that more than 200,000 Shanghai people took to the streets in support of the hunger striking Beijing students. Demonstrations in the People's Square and in front of the municipal government building involved 400,000 people. Let us observe that these demonstrations in support of the Beijing students are taking place in more than 20 cities in China.

Late Thursday night we returned to Beijing, which once again greeted us with the long-drawn-out sirens of ambulances, roadblocks, hundreds of thousands of demonstrators, and banners hanging from the windows of apartment blocks. Television is now showing an oft-repeated item: In the morning, at 0445 hours, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, Li Peng, premier of the State Council, and other leaders went to Tiananmen Square, to the students on hunger strike. (The hunger striking students are no longer sitting on the ground, they are in 120 buses there in the square). The Chinese leaders went up to them and talked with them. Then Zhao Ziyang addressed those present with

emotion: "The students have good intentions," he said. "They are concerned for the state, but the questions they have raised cannot be resolved immediately. It is a process. The main thing now is to stop the hunger strike. That does not mean the dialogue will stop. It will continue. The government is prepared to do everything to give a satisfactory answer to the students' demands..."

But let us come back to M.S. Gorbachev's visit, which has now ended.

Today's editorial in RENMIN RIBAO was headed: "Close Up the Past, Open Up the Future." The newspaper assesses the visit against the background of the worldwide trend for a transition from confrontation to dialogue. And in this context the normalization of relations is in accordance with the demands of the age. Some more points from the editorial: The meeting marks the start of a new phase of relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, which have stood the test of time. These relations, which accord with the aspirations of the peoples of the world, do not affect links with third countries.

Our conversations with Chinese comrades and colleagues from other countries covering the visit convinced us that everyone recognizes the significance of what has been achieved. The meeting took place in an atmosphere in which the socialist countries are meeting a challenge issued by the times. And there is no alternative to the renewal of socialism and major social, economic, and political transformations. No alternative is available. The act of normalizing interstate, interparty relations has been accomplished. Now the long road of good-neighborliness and partnership based on the time-tested principles of peaceful coexistence lies ahead. Along this difficult path there will be disagreements and differing assessments, but, as the leaders of the two socialist countries firmly stated, "these should not hamper the development of relations between the two states."

Two meetings with wise men are memorable. One of them was with the Shanghai philosopher Wang Donggan. He named a triad that, in his view, defined the nature of the summit meeting: "Familiarization, understanding, the opening up of new paths." The other wise man was Professor Xu Jiang. He told us that "even in the difficult years I always remembered the traditional friendship between our peoples. Now that we have stretched out our hands to each other, our steps will be more rapid. The leaders' meeting will provide an excellent impetus." Then, in reflection, he added: "Gorbachev came to China in the spring, when the earth awakens and nature is renewed. May there be rich fruit in the fall."

Reportage on Demonstrations, Unrest in China

Li Peng Vows To Stop 'Chaos'

PM2005144089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Mass Demonstrations in Beijing"]

[Excerpt] Beijing, 19 May—"Long live the four principles—democracy, freedom, human rights, and the power of the law." "Convene an extraordinary session of the

NPC [National People's Congress] immediately." Those are the main slogans of the day in Beijing, where mass demonstrations by students, secondary school pupils, and young workers continue. They are joined by representatives of virtually all strata of Chinese society. Tiananmen Square is open only to ambulances, the wailing of their sirens, combined with the roar of the continuous chanting of political slogans and the singing of the "Internationale" by the demonstrators, adding to the drama of the situation and the heat of the psychological atmosphere in the capital.

Work has partially or entirely stopped at some of Beijing's industrial enterprises. None of the central newspapers, RENMIN RIBAO included, reached its subscribers.

In the central part of the city, as on previous days, transport movements are controlled by the demonstrators. With a view to preventing provocations and bloodshed, youth detachments, forming a living wall, protect the entrances to the Chinese leadership's central residence, Zhongnanhai.

This morning Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, met with demonstrators in the square. "We have come too late," Zhao Ziyang said. "Your intentions are good. You want your country to be better. The problems you speak of will certainly be resolved. But this is no easy matter, and their resolution must necessarily be a process." Li Peng called on the students to stop the hunger strike and go back to the campuses.

Yesterday's meeting between Li Peng and leaders of the more than 3,000 students on hunger strike, the CHINA DAILY writes, ended without result—neither side would compromise. According to official reports, on Thursday traffic on the railroad linking Beijing with southern China was halted for 3 hours. Students took this step as a warning move in the dialogue with the country's leadership.

As representatives of the demonstrators stated, this morning one of the students on hunger strike died in Beijing. The students declared readiness to carry out group self-immolation in the event of the leadership's refusal to fulfill their demands.

As in the days of the "Cultural Revolution," every day some 50,000 students from other cities are arriving in Beijing. Having the railmen's sympathy, they make the journey free. Their aim is to support the hunger strikers' demands.

Demonstrations and rallies are happening in more than 20 major cities. More than 300 Shanghai students are on the 13th day of their hunger strike. More and more activists in the student movement are joining them.

This afternoon, during a meeting with R. Woolcott, permanent secretary of the Australian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, stated that chaos reigns in Beijing, and has spread to varying degrees to other parts of the country.

The Chinese Government intends to adopt measures, in accordance with its prerogatives, to stop the chaos and restore public order, and to ensure the progress of China's reforms and the policy of openness to the outside world, Li Peng noted.

This, he stressed, is entirely China's internal affair, and we will resolve it in an appropriate way. I am entirely confident of that. [passage omitted]

Li Calls for End to Protests

LD1905194189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 19 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Demonstrations by young people demanding the democratization of society have taken place in Beijing and other towns in China. Work at certain enterprises in the capital has been partially or completely halted. [video shows young people walking in huge crowd] Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, met the demonstrators in the square. As the representatives of the demonstrators stated, one female student from among the hunger strikers died in Beijing today. [video shows Zhao Ziyang visiting students during nighttime]

The students have announced that they are ready to carry out a group self-immolation if the leadership refuses to fulfill their demands. About 50,000 students from other towns in the country are arriving in Beijing every day. Taking advantage of the sympathy of railway workers they are making their trips free. Their goal is to support the demands of the hunger strikers. [video shows students next to buses, students arriving by train]

Today during a meeting with Woolcott, permanent secretary of the Australian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, stated that chaos reigns in Beijing, and it has spread to other regions of the country to different degrees. According to a report from the XINHUA News Agency, Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, has called for decisive measures to be taken to restore order. He made this statement at a gathering of cadre workers of the CPC and state organs, held here on Saturday. The situation in Beijing is deteriorating, Li Peng noted, and it has had an influence on other towns in the country. Such a development of events is capable of leading to unrest on a nationwide scale if decisive measures are not taken to stabilize the situation.

Right now in the name of establishing order fast, Li Peng went on to say, on behalf of the CPC Central Committee and the PRC State Council, I call on the students that have declared a hunger strike on Tiananmen square to halt it immediately and leave the square. He also called on students and all citizens to halt all demonstrations.

Martial Law Decreed in Beijing

LD2005050289 Moscow TASS in English 0456 GMT
20 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 20 TASS—Chinese Television today broadcast a report on the imposition by the decree of the State Council of the People's Republic of China of a martial law on parts of Beijing and its environs.

On Saturday morning demonstrators continued to throng Tiananmen Square in Beijing. They headed in groups by trucks, cars or in columns to the western part of the city where trucks with servicemen parked on Fuxingmen Street.

Five Air Force helicopters of the People's Liberation Army of China hover over Beijing's central areas, including Tiananmen Square, Changan and Fuxingmen streets and the area of the city terminal, railways, and highways leading to Beijing from the southeast. Patrols on motorcycles from among the People's Armed Police appeared anew on the streets.

Situation in Beijing 'Tense'

LD2005102889 Moscow TASS in English 0946 GMT
20 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 20 TASS—The situation in Beijing remains tense due to continuing mass demonstrations.

At about 10 a.m. Beijing time (5 a.m. Moscow time), China's central television announced that the State Council imposed martial law in certain areas of the Chinese capital and its suburbs.

Military helicopters of the People's Liberation Army of China have again appeared in the sky over the city.

At 10:45 a.m. Beijing time, troops sent to the capital changed their positions, keeping out of direct contact with students. The troops include infantry and armoured units.

The authorities are planning to meet students in Tiananmen Square to ask them to leave the square. The students have been warned that under the State Council's martial law decree "all necessary constitutional measures will be taken to restore order."

The television repeatedly announces orders by the people's government of Beijing, forbidding certain kinds of activities for citizens.

One of the decrees says that foreign nationals, above all foreign reporters, are forbidden to contact Chinese citizens and appear in crowded places.

These orders were officially announced to foreign embassies and missions.

After the television and radio announced the imposition of martial law in Beijing, students and young workers streamed toward Tiananmen Square in trucks and buses, riding bicycles and motorcycles, or just walking.

They were holding red flags, brightly coloured pennants and banners demanding freedom and democracy and calling for anti-corruption efforts.

One of the banners called for support for "The Third People's Revolution."

People, mostly young, hold rallies on streets and at crossroads, at which activists from higher educational establishments urge people to support students who had announced a hunger strike eight days ago, and to continue the protests despite martial law until all their demands are met.

From 8:00 a.m. today, military helicopters have been hovering over Beijing's central areas, including Tiananmen Square, Changan and Fuxingmen streets and the Beijing railway terminal, as well as over railways and highways leading to the capital from southeast.

Motorised patrols of the people's armed militia have appeared on streets.

None of the national newspapers was out in the Chinese capital today. Their publication in conditions of martial law is believed to be hardly possible here.

According to a UPI report, transmission lines for major Western world news agencies, including UPI, AP, AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE and REUTERS, have been cut in Beijing.

Troops, Police Absent From Beijing Streets

LD2005110989 Moscow TASS in English 1053 GMT
20 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 20 TASS—The situation in Beijing by 4:00 p.m. local time has somewhat changed. Military helicopters of the People's Liberation Army have stopped hovering over the city's central areas. No troops or people's armed militia units are seen on streets and squares.

Young people continue coming to Tiananmen Square. Student activists are directing the traffic.

Several trucks with protesters holding red flags and banners speed down the streets. One of the banners reads: "No to Dictatorship."

The absolute majority of administrative offices and enterprises, practically all stores, catering and service facilities and markets are working in their usual way.

City public transport is running in all Beijing areas except for the centre. Urban telephone lines and post offices are working normally.

Rallies in support of students' demands are held now and then in some areas of the Chinese capital. Mass demonstrations continue in Shanghai, China's biggest city.

Crowds Block Army Movements in Beijing

LD2005120789 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 20 TASS—Tension is running high in the Chinese capital. Students continue a hunger strike on Tiananmen Square in the centre of Beijing called eight days ago. Ambulances take to hospitals from here fasting youths and girls who lost consciousness or whose health has sharply deteriorated. Public order is maintained on the square by activists from among students and young workers.

By 5:00 p.m. young people thronged the road on Chang'an Street on the sections adjacent to Tiananmen Square from the West to the East. People in the crowd are in tense expectation. They follow the movement in the sky of an Air Force helicopter of the National Liberation Army of China, which began hovering anew over the central parts of the capital.

According to witness accounts, roads running through Beijing's environs and leading to the city are blocked by trucks and buses. Crowds of young people and also old men and women with children, who sympathise with them, have clogged roads and some other important junctions, blocking military troop trucks from advancing down the roads and into the capital. Some of the residents of Beijing contend that following lengthy talks a column of trucks carrying soldiers has, nevertheless, sped to the capital early morning.

Everywhere people with arm bands stop motor vehicles with military number-plates and persuade servicemen huddled in them to return to their barracks. Besides, trucks with teams of student agitators are riding through the city. Activists of the youth movement address people of different ages who assembled in many parts of the city.

Numbers of Beijing Protesters Decrease

LD2005134389 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 20 TASS—Student protests were going on in Beijing's Tiananmen Square at 7:00 P.M. Saturday, but the number of protesters and "mobile detachments in support of the hunger-striking" which are moving about the city, has markedly decreased.

Loudspeakers in squares repeatedly announce orders imposed by the city government.

Rallies have been held sporadically since Saturday morning in Tiananmen and practically at all road junctions in the city. Activists, speaking through loudhailers, [as received] called on people to put up "resolute resistance to the military dictatorship" and to support the students in Tiananmen tonight when the government "very possibly will start to act," as a leaflet said.

Another leaflet, signed by the "Self-Administration Committee of Beijing University", said that "300,000 teachers, students and other citizens are taking part in the protests." It also said that "hundreds of thousands of troops have been sent from all sides to Beijing."

Military helicopters hover over the square and Chang'an Avenue, evoking people's protests. They shake their fists and explode firecrackers.

Two lines of young people with red flags around their heads formed a ten-metre-wide corridor to let ambulances take fainting hunger strikers to hospital.

No militia or public security forces are seen on the square or other areas in the centre of Beijing.

'Individual Extremist Acts' Noted

LD2005182189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] In the Chinese capital, which is in the grip of student unrest, the situation remains complex and contradictory. This is what our correspondent Vladimir Kulikov reports from Beijing:

[Kulikov] Beijing central television and the country's radio stations are continuously broadcasting speeches by Li Peng, premier of the State Council of the PRC, and Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC, at a conference of party, state, and military officials that was held late last night. They addressed the party and people with proposals to take decisive and effective measures to end the disturbances in Beijing. The premier of the PRC State Council expressed the hope that the capital's inhabitants will fully support the efforts of the People's Liberation Army, the police, and the armed militia to cut short the disturbances, which threaten to spill over into other regions and provinces of China, as was said at this conference.

For the moment, there are no army units to be seen in the city, although military helicopters are circling over the crowd. As far as the demonstrators are concerned, their numbers are not decreasing. They carry slogans that castigate corruption and call for democracy. The city center is virtually blockaded. Partial measures are being introduced to restrict movement. These measures have also affected us, the foreign journalists who work in

Beijing. It has been announced that as of 1000 today, it is recommended that foreign journalists not make contact with the demonstrators or conduct interviews.

Early this morning, before these restrictions went into effect, I spoke with city residents who were standing at the side of the highway leading to Tiananmen Square, the main square in the Chinese capital, and who were greeting the students. The majority firmly asserted that the problem must be solved by political methods. At the same time, statements were also made that criticized individual extremist acts by young people that had deepened the crisis.

The people of Beijing are now starting to take a deeper look, as it were, at their internal affairs and are changing their views on many problems. The Chinese people's concerns about and deep interest in the Soviet Union remains unchanged, however. People told me that the turbulent events, against the background of which the summit took place, had in no way pushed its results into the background.

Martial Law 'Still Not' in Place

LD2105184189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 21 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast, A. Tikhonov, V. Kozin report]

[Text] Now a report by our special correspondents who have just returned from Beijing.

[A. Tikhonov] We visited Tiananmen Square the evening before last, before the authorities announced over the radio that in connection with the introduction of martial law foreign correspondents were not allowed to mix with the crowds of demonstrators or film. This is what China's main square looked like. [video shows crowds with flags and banners, buses, with the Great Hall of the People in the background, speeding ambulances with horns sounding and lights flashing]

The hunger strikers stayed in groups. These were probably the ones who announced a hunger strike later, in support of the strikers. The earlier ones were already beginning to lose consciousness by the dozen. The city's medical services—as you can see—provided monitoring and assistance around the clock. [video shows group of young men sitting under banners, make-shift hospital ward in a tent with medics attending patients, intravenous feeding of patients]

According to reports, at 0830 most of the students decided to stop the hunger strike, but the demonstrations go on. In places where the greatest crowds of people have accumulated order is being maintained by activists who continue calling on the participants in the protests to stay calm and persistent. [video shows speeding ambulances and trucks with Red Cross flags, crowds, and civilians directing traffic, with uniformed men milling around]

By this morning the martial law announced by the authorities in a number of districts of Beijing has in practice still not come into effect. Leaflets and large character posters that appeared today say the 27th Army from Beijing District has been moved out of the area and another army, probably from near Shenyang, has been redeployed toward the city. It has encircled Beijing and on some roads leading into the capital in forward units have already come in contact with students and local inhabitants, but no actions leading to conflict [were noted]. [video shows crowds flashing two-finger "V" signs, a loose formation of uniformed men and women passing along Tiananmen Square, youths riding a truck draped with flags]

The situation in Beijing is changing. As you know, the two dialogues held between the students and the country's leaders have so far not led to compromise. [video shows youths atop a flag-draped truck waving arms and flashing "V" signs]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified woman, in Mandarin with superimposed Russian translation] We do not want anyone to connect these events in Beijing with Comrade Gorbachev's visit—in to say whatsoever. [applause] [video shows Kozin interviewing the woman, who is standing at the front of a crowd of people]

[Second unidentified woman, in Mandarin with superimposed Russian translation] We want democratization, we want more glasnost. [video shows another woman in the same crowd]

[First woman] This has no relation to our two countries, to the relations between them. [video shows the first woman gesticulating]

[Unidentified man in Mandarin with superimposed Russian translation] We want friendship between our countries. We support the restructuring in the Soviet Union, say students. [applause] [video shows young man in the middle of a crowd, not giving the reporter's microphone back to him as he tries to say more, the crowd shown cheering, applauding, and flashing "V" signs]

[Kozin] Today's events in Beijing are highly complex. They must be thoroughly looked into and analyzed. For us in these streets one thing was clear: Equally in the top leadership and at the grassroots level the attitudes toward our country were good, unequivocal. [video shows high-rise building with banners in windows, street scene with crowds of people] [end recording]

Li Peng, Yang Shangkun Cited on Ureast
PM2005181789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent Yu. Savchenko dispatch: "Beijing's Anxious Hours"]

[Text] Beijing—In accordance with Article 89 of the Constitution, the PRC State Council has decided to introduce martial law in a number of districts of Beijing.

The order, bearing the signature of PRC State Council Premier Li Peng, states that people's normal life has been disrupted as a result of mass disorders. The government has therefore taken this step to protect citizens' life and property and public property, and to ensure the normal functioning of institutions.

This report was broadcast on radio and television and then repeated many times. On the basis of the decision the Beijing Municipal Government has issued a number of decrees specifying the terms of martial law, in particular listing districts that will be under special conditions. They include those that adjoin or lead to the city's main thoroughfare, the Avenue of Eternal Peace. It is prohibited to stage demonstrations, strikes or street meetings, spread rumors, stick up posters, make inflammatory speeches, and so forth. Decisive measures will be taken to stop such actions. Restrictions on the activities of Chinese and foreign correspondents have been announced.

In a number of places in the capital there are no buses running. As the radio reported, in some places the traffic has been blocked by obstructions at intersections. Decisions to close some parks and museums have been made. There have been loudspeaker calls for resolute steps to curb the chaos and restore order. Yet columns of young people supporting the Beijing students are continuing to make their way into Tiananmen Square. A welcome was given to a group of students from Lanzhou University (Gansu Province); they have come a long way. As the newspapers report (they are coming out very late—morning papers only appear in the evening, and sometimes even the next day), despite the local authorities' attempts to stop students from moving about, 57,000 have already arrived in the capital from various parts of the country. Many trains are overcrowded, jeopardizing passenger safety...

Meanwhile there are more and more trucks and minibuses crammed with people carrying posters and banners in the square. The square itself is surrounded by a living ring of student pockets, who are not letting passersby in, reserving the space for demonstrators and students on hunger strike. Incidentally it is reported that many people have given up their hunger strike, with the weak being sent to the hospital in "emergency aid" ambulances (most wailing loudly), while those who are a bit stronger remain in the square...

Since midnight and throughout today the radio and television have been regularly carrying Li Peng and Yang Shangkun speeches. The premier is saying that the city is in a state of chaos and laws and discipline are being violated. There are endless traffic jams. The normal operation of enterprises and institutions is in jeopardy. Some of the events on the program for the Soviet-Chinese summit had to be cancelled, which, in the premier's view, damaged China's international prestige. Handfuls of people, Li Peng stated, are using the hunger-striking students as hostages to pressure the government. Some student representatives believe they can no longer control the situation in Tiananmen Square, where agitated people are yelling demagogic

slogans. Since the situation in Beijing is affecting other parts of the country, there is a need for resolute actions to ensure that the disorders do not spread throughout the country, the premier stated.

The premier reemphasized: Patriotic students are speaking out for democracy and against corruption—the same things for which the party and government are struggling. The problems they have raised are having a positive impact on the work of party and government bodies. But there are a few people who are pursuing their own political objectives and are opposing the CPC leadership, the socialist system, and the Constitution. They are concentrating their attacks on Deng Xiaoping, who has made a tremendous contribution to the policy of reforms and openness. Some people are interpreting as weakness the government's policy of restraint and patience.

However, the dialogue with the students and other strata of the population will be continued, the premier said, and no one will be punished for radical words and actions within the context of the student movement. Li Peng called on the party, the army, and the nation to act resolutely to immediately restore stability.

PRC President Yang Shangkun, who spoke next, said that to restore order People's Liberation Army units would be transferred to Beijing from other areas to assist the people's police, and that he is confident that this step is in no way aimed against the students. He expressed hope that the broad masses will give the army understanding and support.

'Sources' Outline Zhao's Position

LD2103180589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Today the demonstrations by young people continued in China. Troops have been deployed in a number of districts of Beijing. However, martial law declared by the authorities yesterday in a number of districts of Beijing has not, in practice, come into effect. The city is controlled by organized participants in the actions.

Leaflets are appearing in the city that appeal to the military to act in defense of the participants in the actions. One of the leaflets talks about sessions of the top Chinese leadership. At such a session on 13 May, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, set out his position with regard to the events taking place, according to these sources. He proposed that the students' actions be recognized as legal, and he stated that he was prepared to assume responsibility for everything that was taking place.

PRC Economic Reforms Require Political Reform
 18070270 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
 in Russian No 19, 13-19 May 89 p 2

[Article by Professor L. Delyusin, head of the China Department of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Ten Years on the Road of Reforms"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The head of the China Department at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Professor L. Delyusin, talks about the successes and difficulties encountered by the reform in China.

What "Heritage" Did They Give Up in the PRC?

The reforms in China were inaugurated by the Third Plenum of the CPC held in December 1978. The party's 10th anniversary was celebrated on a broad scale in the PRC and abroad.

It must be recalled that important ideological preparations held under the motto "practice is the only criterion of truth" preceded the work of the plenum. Discussing the issue of the role of practice in comprehending the truth was not a philosophical debate. At issue was the attitude toward the "ideas" of Mao Zedong, which were proclaimed to be the absolute truth for all time by some Chinese leaders elevated in the years of "Cultural Revolution."

Resolutions passed in December 1978 called on the Chinese Communists, the entire people to shift the focus of work to carrying out economic construction and modernizing the entire national economy. It was stated at the plenum that there should be an end to massive political campaigns held under the slogan of class struggle. Stability and order were proclaimed to be a necessary condition for China's advance toward socialism.

The demand to reinforce democracy in the party and in the entire political life of the country, because "very little democracy remains in the country," was one more important statement laid down in the resolutions of the Third Plenum. It was acknowledged that laws rather than arbitrary rule must be the legislative foundation for the life of the country.

The process of renewal of the party and state apparatus, of purging the "leftists," who did not want to give up the principles of the "Cultural Revolution," began immediately following the plenum. This made possible a transition to new forms of economic operations, especially in rural areas. The peasants received independence, and they got rid of "blind management" by ignorant and incompetent cadres.

Production activities in rural areas began to grow rapidly, which was reflected in the increased production of grain and other agricultural products. Within 10 years the annual income of peasants grew 2.5 to 3 times. The

slogan "Get rich!" was received with enthusiasm by the Chinese peasants, who were previously forbidden to engage in any profit-generating activities under the slogan of struggle with capitalism.

Plan and Market

Many Chinese economists see the reason for the difficulties that have now developed in the imperfection of the market mechanism and the underdevelopment of the money and goods relations. In their opinion, no administrative measures can replace the functions of a market mechanism. Famous Chinese scientists Su Shaorhi and Wang Yizhou write: "The practical experience of our country in recent years has confirmed that without a healthy market mechanism that ensures competition it is difficult for the state to give up administrative interference in the economy, and it is difficult for enterprises and managers to develop their potential strengths and overcome subjectivity and bureaucracy."

At the 13th CPC Congress, the concept "the state regulates the market, and the market determines the operation of enterprises" was proclaimed. On the whole, everyone agrees that a contract system may considerably increase the economic efficiency of plants and factories in the country, particularly small and medium-size ones. However, there is a difference of opinion with regard to large enterprises. Some economists advocate the principle of centralized state management of large enterprises that are of major significance to the national economy.

...But Leasing Is Better

Some Chinese economists believe leasing to be the most progressive and efficient form. Cadres with leftist leanings, as well as workers who have become accustomed to wage leveling, see lessees as exploiters of a new type, "capitalists without capital," and believe that their personal incomes are too high. The lessees of state enterprises themselves do not feel confident that their high incomes are legitimate and are afraid to invest the money generated in the business. Most frequently they distribute it among their subordinates and spend it on gifts for the workers and clerical personnel, and on presents for the employees of government and party agencies.

Worker-Shareholders

Some Chinese economists come out in favor of expanding the form of joint stock, believing that the sale of shares to the workers and clerical employees of enterprises will instill in them the feeling of ownership and responsibility for increases in production, as well as the quality of products.

Opponents of the joint stock form of ownership argue that shareholders will turn into capitalists drawing non-labor derived income, and the enterprises will lose their socialist character.

The resolutions of the 13th CPC Congress stated that the joint stock form of ownership does not contravene the principles of socialism and should be encouraged because, for purposes of economic development, it helps in tapping the moneys the populace spends for its needs.

About Those Prices

The enhancement of the economic reform has harshly put the issue of prices on the agenda. Over the past decade there have been many attempts to regulate them, to ensure their compliance with the law of value. Nonetheless, as the goods and money relations have developed, prices emerging in the market have been becoming increasingly difficult to control for the state agencies.

This problem has become particularly acute recently. In the opinion of Chinese economists, the excessive emission of the currency, overblown expansion of the front of capital construction projects, and growth of the purchasing power of certain population groups are the reasons for the growth of prices. The advantages gained by the peasants, as well as the workers and clerical employees, as a result of carrying out economic reforms have been reduced to almost nothing by price increases. Actual incomes of the workers and peasants have fallen. For some categories of the population whose earnings were strictly fixed, the growth of prices has meant a deterioration in their financial standing.

Removing the Metastases of the Past

Many difficulties arising in the process of economic reforms are associated with the imperfection of the political and administrative system. It has been commonly recognized that further economic transformations cannot be successful unless a radical political reform is carried out. Thus far, it has exhibited shortcomings, such as the excessive concentration of power, bureaucratism, and the presence of feudal vestiges in thinking and the style of work.

A reform of the political structure should rule out the possibility of a recurrence of the "Cultural Revolution." It is aimed at separating the functions of the government and the party, giving greater authority to lower-level party, administrative, and economic organs, and reducing the management apparatus. While stressing the need for political reforms, the CPC leadership at the same time cautions against haste and insists on a careful approach to the forms and methods of implementing them.

In the opinion of the Chinese leadership, the development of democracy is a historical process and will occur in stages over a long period of time.

As general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, Zhao Ziyang has said, "Without implementing reforms, China will lose its right to residence on the globe."

Northeast Asia

Japanese Government Welcomes Sino-Soviet Summit
OW1805114589 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 17 May 89

[Potapov report]

[Text] The Sino-Soviet summit meeting is a hot topic among Japanese journalists. In this connection, Moscow Radio's correspondent Potapov filed the following report:

The start of the Sino-Soviet summit talks was viewed in Japan as long-awaited good news, providing hope. The major Japanese newspapers frontpaged the news about the talks between General Secretary Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping, covered the details of both leaders' speeches, and showed close-up pictures of the two leaders shaking hands. Despite the differences of ideology, the commentators of those newspapers share the same opinion that the general secretary's current visit to China is of historical significance. The general secretary's visit will open up a new page in Sino-Soviet relations. The visit also indicates desire of both sides for an all-out normalization of bilateral relations.

Many people pay attention to the fact that the summit meeting was realized as a result of the Soviet Union's new political thinking and dynamic foreign policies, which have been advocated by General Secretary Gorbachev as the central figure. It is observed as a event of a great significance that the friendly overtures of the Soviet Union and China, based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, will have positive influences on the situation in the Asian and Pacific region and, in its turn, on that of the entire world.

Japanese Chief Cabinet Secretary Obuchi welcomed the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations realized after a 30-year interruption. At the same time, Chief Cabinet Secretary Obuchi pointed out that the Japanese Government is greatly interested in what kind of diplomacy the Soviet Union and China develop in Asia, and how the Asian nations react to this diplomacy. Moreover, Japanese Foreign Minister Uno said today that the normalization of bilateral relations, which was achieved in the wake of the Sino-Soviet summit talks, will provide a desirable possibility for development of the situation in the Asian and Pacific region in a new direction.

The NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN emphasizes: Foreign Minister Uno has concluded that the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations will promote a process of easing tension in the Asia-Pacific region. Furthermore, the Foreign Ministry holds that the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations is an ideal opportunity for Japan to develop the so-called new Asian diplomacy, which will make a positive contribution to peace and stability in Asia.

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement

LD1905071789 Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT
19 May 89

[Text] Tokyo May 19 TASS—The Japanese Foreign Ministry has welcomed the signing of the Sino-Soviet communique. "We hope that the normalisation and stabilisation of Soviet-Chinese relations will improve peace and stability in Asia," a statement released here says.

The document stresses that the process shouldn't be seen as a negative factor influencing Japan. Japan shouldn't be afraid of greater Soviet influence in the region, if it isn't accompanied by an increase of military forces, the statement says.

Mongolian Official on Sino-Soviet Relations

LD1805121189 Moscow TASS in English 1211 GMT
18 May 89

[Text] Ulaan Baatar May 18 TASS—The normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations and their reaching a qualitatively new point are an embodiment of new political thinking advanced by the Soviet Union and a new international order put forward by the Chinese leadership. Mongolian Deputy Foreign Minister Gombosurenpyin Dashdabaa said in an interview with MONT-SAME NEWS AGENCY.

The new philosophy of cooperation, of relations between the two socialist powers, which is being asserted, will play an important role in promoting peace and security, and is of historic significance for the development of friendship and cooperation among peoples the world over, above all among the Asia-Pacific countries.

Naturally, Mongolia's relations with its two neighbours hold particular place in Mongolia's foreign policy. The reduction in the Mongolian People's Army and defence spending became possible thanks to the improvement of its relations with China and the normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations. He regards the beginning of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia as an important practical step toward building trust in Asia.

The Soviet leader's visit is a major political event. It gives a powerful impetus to our aspirations to be guided by the principles of new political thinking and therefore we wish success to the Soviet-Chinese dialogue at summit level, he concluded.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

SRV's Nguyen Co Thach on Gorbachev Visit to China

LD2105201189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 21 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We move on to international events. The Soviet-PRC summit has the significance of a landmark. It draws a line under the past, opens up a new

stage in Soviet-PRC relations, and signals the restoration of contacts between the CPSU and the CPC; it is stressed in foreign responses to the results of the official visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to China. [passage omitted] [video shows SRV Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach speaking to camera]

[Begin recording] [Nguyen Co Thach, in Vietnamese with superimposed Russian translation] This visit was awaited in Vietnam and was followed attentively. Today, we are fully justified in saying that its results are of historic significance. The most important result is that the mutual relations between the two great countries have now been completely normalized. I welcome the start of the new stage in friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC and between the Soviet and the Chinese peoples.

For decades now there has been no peace in the Pacific region and tension remains. The previous state of Soviet-PRC relations had a negative effect on the situation, particularly in Southeast Asia. I am certain the Gorbachev visit to the PRC and the results of the talks will also facilitate a change in the political climate in Southeast Asia, and a speedy settlement of the Cambodian question. [end recording]

Summit Will Facilitate SRV-PRC Ties

LD2005114489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] The results of the Soviet-Chinese summit remain a main subject covered by the foreign mass media. This was stated by Nguyen Co Thach, minister of foreign affairs of Vietnam, in an interview with our correspondent.

[Nguyen Co Thach in Vietnamese fading into Russian report] The Vietnamese people, Nguyen Co Thach said, had great hopes for this visit, and now we can say with full justification that they were vindicated. The results of this visit are truly historic. The most important thing is that relations between the two great powers have been normalized. We welcome the beginning of a new stage in relations of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and China, and between the Soviet and Chinese peoples, Nguyen Co Thach stressed.

Going on to the question of how the results of the visit will influence the development of the situation in Southeast Asia, Nguyen Co Thach noted that for decades in this region there has been no peace and tension has remained. The former state of Soviet-Chinese relations also had a negative influence on the situation in Southeast Asia. I am sure, the Vietnamese minister said, that the visit by Gorbachev to China and the results of the talks will also assist in changing the political climate in Southeast Asia and in settling the Cambodian question. As follows from the final communique, the Soviet Union and China support the efforts of the Cambodian people

directed at achieving national reconciliation. This gives hope, despite the differences that still exist of resolving the Cambodian problem, Nguyen Co Thach said in conclusion.

Hopes Pinned to Summit 'Justified'

LD2003224889 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1422 GMT 20 May 89

[Excerpt] [no dateline as received] [passage omitted]—SRV Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach told a TASS correspondent that the universal hopes pinned to the Soviet-Chinese summit by the countries of the world have been fully justified, in that M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the PRC made a major contribution to the cause of reinforcing peace around the world, and in the Asia-Pacific region in particular.

Asked how the outcome of the visit would affect the development of the situation in the region, Nguyen Co Thach noted that in the first place, it would help to normalize relations between China and Vietnam, while in the second place, those who had discussions about Soviet-Chinese interference in the Cambodian problem can now no longer pin their hopes in this. They are being obliged to recognize that the Cambodian problem must be solved by the Cambodians themselves. The time has come for everyone to work together for a solution to the Cambodian problem and to establish good-neighborly relations in Southeast Asia, stressed Nguyen Co Thach. [passage omitted]

Vietnam-USSR Amity Groups Meet Near Moscow

RR1705155589 Hanoi VNA in English 1520 GMT
17 May 89

[Text] Hanoi VNA May 17—The third meeting between representatives of the Vietnam-USSR Friendship Association and the Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship Society was held from May 15-17 at the House of Friendship with Foreign Nations on the outskirts of Moscow. The first meeting was held in Minsk in 1974, and the second in Can Tho, provincial capital of Hau Giang Province (Vietnam) in 1987.

Participating in the third meeting were representatives of 29 provinces and cities of Vietnam and of 20 republics, autonomous regions, regions and cities of the Soviet Union which have established or are preparing to establish relations of friendship with Vietnam.

Speaking at the meeting, G.S. Tinov, president of the Soviet-Vietnam Friendship Society, and Vietnamese Ambassador Nguyen Manh Cam pointed to the importance of this meeting in strengthening the all-round cooperation between the two countries and in developing the friendship between the two peoples.

Listeners in Philippines Greeted on Radio Day

HK1905055389 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines
1300 GMT 7 May 89

[Text] Dear listeners: On this day, members of Radio Moscow celebrate Radio Day. On this day, we commemorate the past 94 years since the Russian inventor (Aleksandr Kosov) produced the world's very first radio receiver. Today is a day for the workers and members of all branches of the communications field, of which we, naturally, are a part.

On this day, we radio journalists are pleased and delighted to greet all those who have only recently become listeners to Radio Moscow in the Filipino language. Our first broadcast took place quite recently, on 1 January this year at 2100 Manila time. Since then, we have been broadcasting regularly to all those who have been listening to us up to this time.

We have informed you that you can hear two half-hour programs daily in the Filipino language. The first one airs at 2100, and the second at 2200. In our programs, we talk about the role perestroika plays in our political and livelihood systems. This is a topic which many people, including Filipinos, find interesting. It is not unusual for us to pay close attention to international events, especially those in Southeast Asia and, of course, in the Philippines.

We interview Filipinos who visit our country because we assume that you are interested in hearing their impressions. From our side, we report on what Soviet writers say about the Philippines.

Every Sunday we have a special program featuring the Soviet-Philippine Friendship Society, where we air material which we consider conducive to improving our relationship. We hope that you have been following the series of features on Russo-Philippine relations, which we air each Saturday.

We are delighted to let you know that we have received reactions to our initial broadcasts. At present, there have been just a few letters, compared with other Soviet editorial offices which have been operating for many years. Some of them have received several thousand letters a year. In some countries, clubs have been set up composed of listeners to Radio Moscow.

We have just begun to reply to our new listeners. The very first listener to write us was Aleksandr Esteve from Cagayan de Oro City. He used to listen to Radio Moscow's English-language programs. He wrote that he was delighted to discover that Moscow was broadcasting in the Filipino language. Aleksandr wanted to know who writes our stories and who our announcers are. It is possible that other listeners have similar questions. Our newscasters are Filipinos, and our editors are Soviet staffers who have studied the Filipino language at the

Universities of Moscow and Leningrad. At present, the Soviet staffers are only starting to gain experience so that they will eventually be able to broadcast in Filipino themselves.

The second letter we received was from Mr Rodriguez of Quezon City. He is also a former listener to the English-language Radio Moscow programs. A student from Legazpi City named Joel Bayle also wrote us, saying that he was surprised and delighted to hear the Filipino language coming out of Moscow. He wrote saying that he hoped we would be broadcasting regularly and continuously, because this would give Filipinos the opportunity to learn about the USSR and, with better understanding, improve the chances for peace. Thanks, Joel, for your words. We agree with you on this. In truth, that, too, is Radio Moscow's wish.

Dear listeners: In connection with today's celebrations, we wish to report the following matters. In Moscow, we are holding an exposition on the history of the Soviet Union. Many Soviet and foreign observers arrive here daily. For the coming 60th anniversary of Radio Moscow broadcasts overseas, there will be an exhibition on the Soviet Union's economic achievements called (Vilyemba). An exposition relating to this topic opens today, and we invite you to attend it.

We hope to hear from you about your interest in our country. You could send us documents, letters, pictures, albums, etc. Finally, we thank our listeners for expressing their interest. At present, we share the opinion of Aleksandr Esteve, who has become a regular listener to Radio Moscow. In his second letter, he said that our programs in the Filipino language do not just report on lifestyles, places, music, culture, people, and events in the Soviet Union, they also help strengthen relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of the Philippines. He hopes many other Filipinos will listen to our Filipino-language programs.

Thank you, dear listener Aleksandr Esteve. We share the same hope. As the Tagalog saying goes: Hope brings forth courage and fortitude. So with these words, in the name of the Radio Moscow editorial staff, and on behalf of Anatoliy Aleksandrov, who prepared this program, good luck to all of you esteemed listeners from us at Radio Moscow.

Near East & South Asia

Konarev's Economic Talks in Iran Reported

LD2005194889 Moscow TASS in English 1929 GMT
20 May 89

[Text] Tehran May 20 TASS—Matters pertaining to the development of trade and economic contacts between the Soviet Union and Iran were the subject of talks held in the Iranian capital by a Soviet delegation, led by Nikolay Konarev, USSR minister of railways and chairman of the Soviet part of the permanent Soviet-Iranian

commission for economic cooperation, and an Iranian delegation headed by Mohammad Javad Irvani, Iranian minister of economic affairs and finance.

During the talks the two delegations considered matters regarding the construction of new economic facilities in Iran with Soviet assistance and reached accord on the elaboration of a number of bilateral agreements.

The Soviet delegation was received by Iranian Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi. Satisfaction with the onward development of relations between the two countries and mutual striving for further deepening of trade and economic cooperation were expressed during the meeting which was held in a friendly and constructive atmosphere.

The head of the Iranian Government referred to the talks held in Tehran as important and useful particularly in the light of the forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union by 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian Parliament.

The Soviet delegation visited Esfahan where they familiarised themselves with the operation of the metallurgical mill built with Soviet economic and technical assistance.

Protocols on economic and trade cooperation between Iran and the Soviet Union were signed as a result of the visit.

Konarev Comments on Talks

LD2005224189 Moscow TASS in English 1944 GMT
20 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 20 TASS—The Soviet delegation held talks on cooperation with Iran in the fields of railway transport, sea shipping and fisheries in the Caspian Sea, and motor transportation, Nikolay Konarev, the leader of the delegation, USSR minister of railways and chairman of the Soviet part of the permanent commission for economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Iran, told a TASS correspondent.

He said that matters concerning economic relations between the two countries were considered at the commission's session in Tehran.

Much attention was devoted to questions of trade cooperation, the purchases of Iranian gas, the deliveries of Soviet complete plant for power stations and other enterprises to Iran, cross-border trade, and cooperation in the field of agriculture. A positive development of relations between the two countries was pointed out.

The Iranian delegation was headed by Muhammad Javad Irvani, Iranian minister of economic affairs and finance and chairman of the Iranian part of the commission.

The leader of the Soviet delegation was received by 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Majlis, and by Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi.

Vorontsov Visits Iran, Meets Leaders

LD2105105689 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0955 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Tehran, 21 May (TASS)—Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs and USSR ambassador to Afghanistan, who has been here on a brief working visit, was received by Iranian President S.A. Khamene'i. An in-depth exchange of views took place on matters relating to Soviet-Iranian relations and the vision of both countries regarding the regional problems of interest to them.

On the matter of Afghanistan, the president stated that Iran advocates the quickest end to the bloodshed in this country and the creation by Afghans themselves of an independent, broadly representative government with the participation of all sectors of the population. Iran welcomes the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, which has taken place, and opposes any other foreign military presence on its territory and U.S. interference in Afghan affairs.

During his stay in Tehran, Yu.M. Vorontsov also had thorough conversations at the Iranian Foreign Ministry with Foreign Minister A.A. Velayati and Deputy foreign Ministers H. Sheykholeslam and J. Mansouri.

In the course of the meetings that were held, specific issues were discussed regarding the development of diverse Soviet-Iranian cooperation in light of the forthcoming—soon—official visit to the USSR by A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Majlis speaker of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The sides expressed their confidence that the visit will be an important step in the development of Soviet-Iranian relations and will help strengthen peace in the region and throughout the whole world. The conversations in Tehran examined in detail the cardinality [cardinalno] new situation in Afghanistan. As Yu.M. Vorontsov emphasized, the intensified bloodshed in that country is occurring as a result of open outside interference in Afghan affairs, which is escalating into aggression by Pakistan with the backing of the United States and Saudi Arabia. The course of events in Afghanistan convincingly demonstrates the impossibility of a military solution of Afghan problems and the viability of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan. Pakistan's direct armed actions are nullifying the Geneva accords and radically undermining the cause of an Afghan settlement and the quest for political peaceful solutions and compromises.

The Iranian side expressed its profound concern about the continuing war in Afghanistan and the active involvement in it of outside forces, and it emphasized Iran's interest in a peaceful settlement of the conflict and the preservation of Afghanistan as an independent and

nonaligned state. Both sides confirmed that it is necessary to step up efforts, in the first place, of the countries adjacent to Afghanistan to work toward ending the war in Afghanistan. A further rapprochement was noted between the positions of the Soviet Union and Iran regarding the need for urgent purposeful actions to prevent further exacerbation of the situation, which is fraught with the most negative and unpredictable consequences.

An accord was reached on a continuation of the exchange of views in Afghanistan.

The conversations between Yu.M. Vorontsov and President S.A. Khamene'i and Iran's Foreign Ministry leaders passed off in a businesslike atmosphere; they were characterized by increased mutual understanding both on matters of advancing bilateral ties and cooperation and in the approach to international problems, including Afghanistan.

On 21 May meetings also took place in Tehran between Yu.M. Vorontsov and representatives of the opposition Afghan "Alliance of Eight," which is based in Iran. Questions of a broad settlement in Afghanistan were discussed.

Talks, Soviet-Afghan Ties Viewed

LD1905141789 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 19 May 89

[Yuriy Solon commentary]

[Text] This country's First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov, who is the Soviet ambassador in Kabul, has been holding talks with Iranian leaders in Tehran. The situation in and around Afghanistan figured prominently at the negotiations. Yuriy Solon looks at Moscow's diplomatic efforts:

[Solon] Moscow is stepping up its diplomatic activity to make it easier to solve the Afghan problem by peaceful means. This does not mean, of course, that during the 3 months after Soviet troops left Afghanistan in line with the Geneva accords, the USSR had been idle on the diplomatic front. We may recall the United Nations Security Council's sessions where a Soviet representative supported Kabul's proposal to convene an international conference on Afghanistan and spoke in favor of invigorating United Nations activity to bring about a settlement in that country.

The Afghan issue has come up time and again at meetings between Soviet leaders and statesmen of other countries. When the American Secretary of State Baker visited Moscow recently, he was plainly told about the need to scrupulously comply with the Geneva agreements. However, the situation in Afghanistan calls for fresh efforts to resolve the conflict. Events in that country have been increasingly menacing. Although the Afghan rebels have been defeated at Jalalabad, this has

not taught the Afghan opposition leaders or their foreign patrons anything. Pakistan and the United States, who have signed the Geneva agreements, as well as Saudi Arabia, have been pushing the rebels for escalating the war and have been mounting their interference in Afghan affairs. There are indications that the Pakistani authorities, losing their trust in the armed opposition's ability to capture at least one Afghan city, are preparing a direct military intervention in Afghanistan. It is not hard to predict what harsh consequences this might lead to.

The Soviet leadership feels that the time has come for the world community to act more energetically to settle the conflict threatening to engulf the neighboring relations in the flame of war. What is most important is to put an end to foreign interference, enable the Afghans to clear up their relations and negotiate ways of settling up a coalition Cabinet. This country is ready to assist this process in every way, is prepared to halt arms shipments to Kabul if the United States follows suit in regard to rebels; is willing to act through the United Nations and diplomatic channels, too. Moscow will keep away from meddling in the processes of internal Afghan settlement. Least of all is to turn Afghanistan into its satellite but it certainly wishes that the neighboring state will be friendly towards the USSR as before. But it is for the Afghans themselves to decide on their country's future.

Kuznetsov, Moscow Delegation Visit Kabul

Arrive in Kabul

LD1801203889 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT
18 May 89

[Text] Kabul May 18 TASS—A Moscow delegation, led by Vladimir Kuznetsov, secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, arrived in Kabul today. The Soviet guests will have negotiations with Kabul City Council leaders and the City Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. They will meet Kabul working people, visit military units and see places of interest there.

A plane load of over 20 tons of vital supplies for Kabul with its population of two millions have been brought in by a Soviet transport flight today. This is Moscow's gratis aid to friendly Afghanistan's capital, which experiences considerable difficulties in supplies of essentials because of anti-governmental gangs' unending attempts to blockade the city economically.

Received by Najibullah

LD1901132589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1116 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Kabul, 19 May (TASS)—TASS special correspondent Boris Shestakov reports:

Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, today received a Moscow delegation, which is here on a friendly visit, led by V.I. Kuznetsov, secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee.

The Afghan leader spoke of the military and political situation in the country. Unfortunately, he noted, the Pakistani military, with U.S. support, is grossly violating the Geneva agreements and blatantly interfering in the affairs of Afghanistan. The external and internal enemies of the April Revolution are sowing death and destruction in the country and are trying through an economic blockade to bring the Afghan people to their knees. But all these attempts are doomed to fail, the president said. With the USSR's fraternal help the patriots of Afghanistan are stronger today than ever. According to the Afghan leader, an important part in the political settlement of the conflict must be played by the United Nations.

Numerous meetings with the people of Kabul, the head of the Moscow delegation said in his reply speech, have convinced us that the dynamic and constructive policies of the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan are meeting with growing approval among the broad strata of the people. He said: We intend to develop close cooperation between Moscow and Kabul, the party organizations and labor collectives of the two fraternal capitals.

M. Karwal, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the people's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) Central Committee; D. Razmyar, secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and secretary of the Kabul city party committee; and V.S. Orzhegov, USSR charge d'affaires to the Republic of Afghanistan, took part in the conversation.

That same day the delegation was received by S.A. Keshtmand, member of the PDPA Central Committee Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers Executive Committee. He told them about the work of the Republic's government to solve the serious economic problems, primarily to normalize the supply of foodstuffs to the population.

The guests visited one of the brigades of defenders of the revolution that maintains a 24-hour military watch to protect the peaceful labor of the people of Kabul.

Depart Kabul

LD2001123889 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0747 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Kabul, 20 May (TASS)—The Moscow delegation headed by V.I. Kuznetsov, secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, left Kabul today.

The delegation was received by Najibullah, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) Central Committee and the president of the

Republic of Afghanistan, and S.A. Keshimand, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Afghan Council of Ministers. The delegation met representatives of Kabul labor collectives, the defenders of the revolution, and acquainted itself with the historical and cultural monuments in the Afghan capital.

Afghan Assembly Elections Held Despite Fighting
PM1905102789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Special correspondent A. Ivanko dispatch under general rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Afghanistan: Complex Situation"]

[Text] Kabul—The situation in Afghanistan remains complex. The rocket fire directed at residential quarters of Jalalabad continues unabated. According to the BAKHTAR agency, four people were killed and eight injured in the city 17 May and seven residential buildings were destroyed.

Fierce fighting is underway around Khowst. Formations of the irreconcilable opposition and detachments of the Pakistani militia and Arab mercenaries were forced to retreat as a result of government forces' vigorous actions. Four enemy tanks, military trucks, and recoilless guns were destroyed. According to reports from competent sources, rebel losses totalled more than 150 men.

The situation in Qandahar and Farah provinces remains tense. Combat operations are continuing between sub-units of the Afghan army and opposition formations.

Yesterday staffers of the Afghan Ministry of State Security defused 15 British and 5 U.S. surface-to-surface missiles in Paghman District, Kabul Province. They were ready to be fired at the Afghan capital. On 18 May at 0700 hours Kabul was nonetheless subjected to rocket fire. I counted eight projectiles exploding in the city. As yet no information about possible damage is available.

Despite the complex situation in the country, elections of participants in the upcoming Loya Jirgah [Grand Assembly] are underway. On 17 May they took place in the capital. It is expected that the Loya Jirgah will begin its proceedings within the next few days.

Stop the presses: According to AFP, Afghan Government forces have launched a new offensive with the aim of ousting the mujahidin from their bases around Jalalabad. The agency reports with reference to diplomatic sources that government forces have succeed in restoring traffic on the road linking Jalalabad with the capital.

Afghan National Assembly Meets 20-21 May

Addressed 20 May by Najibullah

LD2005155789 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT
20 May 89

[Text] Kabul May 20 TASS—The Loya Jirgah [Grand Assembly], the traditional body of Afghan democracy which is convened to work out solutions to major problems facing the country, opened here today. Those present were addressed by Afghan President Najibullah.

The president stated that "the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan is ready for compromises and concessions, division of power, and the formation of a coalition government with the participation of all political forces of the country."

"The Afghan leadership will follow the road of peaceful talks with the leaders of opposition groups, the commanders of combat units and all those who come out in favour of free, independent, nonaligned and united Afghanistan," he said.

Najibullah pointed out that thousands of prisoners had been granted amnesty and a law on political parties had been adopted during the pursuance of the national reconciliation policy.

Local bodies of state power have been set up during free elections, a national council has been formed, and the principle of renunciation of one party's monopoly on power has been implemented. Unilateral ceasefire at nation-wide and local levels has been repeatedly announced, which received a positive response from a number of leaders of anti-government groups, he said.

The signing of the Geneva agreements which became the result of Afghanistan's years-long efforts in the international arena was another major event in the period that has passed since the previous Loya Jirgah, Najibullah pointed out.

"Earlier the Republic of Afghanistan suggested studying the question of Afghanistan's demilitarisation, the gathering and transfer of all weapons accumulated over the war years to the countries which produced them. This would enable the Afghan people to heal the wounds inflicted by the ten-years-long war and would reduce the probability of an outbreak of new national and regional conflicts.

"The absence of a positive reply from the opposite side indicates that it intends in future to make Afghanistan dependent militarily and politically on countries which patronise the rebels. What other aim can be pursued by the promotion of the idea of uniting Afghanistan and Pakistan on the basis of a 'confederation'?"

"One year has passed since the start of the withdrawal of Soviet troops and three months since it was fully completed," Najibullah went on to say. "Our armed forces are stoutly defending Jalalabad, Khowst, Qandahar, Herat, the main transport roads and other strategically important points of the country."

"However, aggression against Afghanistan and interference in its affairs following the signing of the Geneva agreements have intensified rather than ceased. The question now is both to achieve a settlement of the Afghan problem and to prevent an armed clash between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The enemies of the Afghan people are fighting with the use of American weapons, the money of Saudi Arabia and under the direction of Pakistani generals. In this connection we reserve the right to demand," the president stated, "that Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United States, as inciters and organisers of the undeclared war, fully make up for the war-inflicted damage".

Pakistani border tribal militia and Saudi mercenaries are now participating in combat operations in the area of Jalalabad while the 11th and the 18th divisions of the Pakistani Armed Forces are giving support to them. Pakistani helicopters intrude into Afghan territory, ensure the supply of the rebels with ammunition, and airlift Pakistani and Saudi advisers.

"If the above-mentioned divisions and the Second Armoured Corps openly participate in an assault on Jalalabad, thereby committing an act of aggression, the Afghan Government, in keeping with its legitimate right to the defence of the country's independence and sovereignty, will deliver rocket strikes on rebels' positions on Pakistani territory," Najibullah stated. "Aggressors should have no doubt on that score."

"The Afghan Government, having analysed in-depth the situation that was taking shape prior to the withdrawal of Soviet troops, mapped out a number of resolute preventive measures to avert conspiracies of the enemies and declared a state of emergency in the country with a view to protecting the native land," the president went on to say.

"Since then the lives of thousands of people have been saved and hundreds of planned provocations were thwarted. The world public and even those circles which prophesied an early fall of cities and of the regime itself, saw for themselves well enough the Afghan Government's capability to defend the native land.

"The state of emergency is not a renunciation of the national reconciliation policy. On the contrary, it protects it from provocations and acts of sabotage by anti-government forces and the Pakistani military. This Loya Jirgah has been convened to endorse the policy of the Republic of Afghanistan towards extending the state of emergency, strengthening its armed forces and uniting the people for the defence of the native land.

"The Afghan Government put forward an action plan to achieve concord and to hold direct talks with a view to establishing peace and stopping fratricide. All forces interested in that should come forward with a statement on a ceasefire and fully observe it, which would make it possible to start a dialogue. An international conference should be convened to review the implementation of the Geneva agreements, and a peace conference should be called inside the country to lay the foundation for forming a widely-representative coalition government which will be assigned the duty of elaborating a draft new Constitution and convening Loya Jirgah to endorse it, of holding all-Afghan elections to parliament and forming bodies of power.

"I suggest setting up a commission from among members of the current Loya Jirgah to establish contacts and hold talks with representatives of the opposition in Pakistan, Iran, European countries, with former Afghan monarch Zahir Shah and his supporters, and first of all with the commanders of opposition groups operating inside the country, the elders and chiefs of tribes that are still in opposition but show inclination to contacts with the government over the question of cessation of combat operations and normalisation of the situation," Najibullah said.

"Not a single political party, organisation, armed group or individual will be excluded from the process. If mutual understanding with the 'field' commanders is achieved, the Afghan Government is prepared to place local and provincial government bodies under their authority, to supply food to those areas and to give all-round assistance to them.

The task of every upright Afghan is now to defend the native land against outside aggression and to repulse a possible Pakistani invasion. In precisely this way one can promote reconciliation between the warring Afghan sides, the president emphasised. [no end quotation marks as received]

Then Najibullah called on the people and parliament of Pakistan to put pressure on the militarist circles and to avert the growth of tension in the region.

"The Soviet Union has been maintaining good-neighbourly relations with us for more than seven decades now," the president went on to say. "Our border is now the border of peace and friendship. I want to state that we shall unwaveringly follow the road of strengthening friendship between the Afghan and Soviet peoples through the invigoration of bilateral relations."

"The Afghan people extremely needs Soviet assistance particularly now that our country has been subjected to aggression. We want to reserve the right in future as well to use any Soviet aid and assistance which would not run counter to the national interests of Afghanistan."

Extends Emergency; Ends 21 May

LD2105184689 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT
21 May 89

[Text] Kabul May 21 TASS—The Loya Jirgah [Grand Assembly] completed its work in the Afghan capital today. Delegates from various provinces of the country unanimously declared in favour of a search for new ways to bring about a peaceful political settlement of the Afghan conflict as soon as possible and to counteract the Pakistani military that encroach upon the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The forum adopted a resolution emphasizing that the Afghan Government's national reconciliation policy is the only right way leading to the establishment of peace and security in Afghanistan and to an end to the fratricidal war.

The Loya Jirgah, having endorsed the government's activities in repulsing the aggression of the Pakistani military, specifically over the three months that have passed since the declaration of the state of emergency in the country, resolved to extend the state of emergency for a six-month period. If, upon the expiry of the term the situation in the country is not normalised, the president of the Republic of Afghanistan is given the right independently to extend the state of emergency for another six months without convening the Loya Jirgah.

The resolution underlines that a mediation commission is being set up with a view to establishing contacts with representatives of the opposition operating inside the country and abroad. On the commission will be delegates chosen by the people from all Afghan provinces as well as persons who will be suggested by the Executive Committee of the Central Council of the National Front of the Republic of Afghanistan and endorsed by the president.

The Loya Jirgah recognized the activities of a number of leaders of anti-government groups based in Peshawar and counting on a military solution to the Afghan problem as running counter to national interests, and condemned attempts at installing in Afghanistan the "interim government" formed by Pakistan-based rebels.

The forum regarded as an encroachment upon the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Afghanistan the attempts at implementing Pakistan's expansionist plans under the cover of the slogan about establishing an "Afghan-Pakistani confederation."

The Republic of Afghanistan, the resolution emphasizes, reserves the right to draw on help from its friends with the aims of preserving the Republic's independence.

The resolution of the Loya Jirgah approves the Afghan Government's activities aimed at ensuring necessary conditions for the repatriation of refugees as well as its

proposals on consolidating the country's permanent neutrality and demilitarisation and on calling an international conference under UN auspices and with the participation of the Soviet Union, the United States, China and Iran to review the implementation of the Geneva agreements.

The participants in the forum spoke out in favour of invigorating the activities of the United Nations and the UN secretary-general, and the Nonaligned Movement to immediately put an end to aggression on the part of Pakistan. The Loya Jirgah called for legitimate representation of Afghanistan in the Organisation of the Islamic Conference.

The representatives of the Afghan people sent a message to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, pointing out that the Afghan people and all progressive mankind welcomed the signing in Geneva of the international agreements on a settlement of the situation concerning Afghanistan. The contingent of Soviet troops was brought home in accordance with the spirit and letter of the accords. However, Pakistan, which is being incited by the United States, is carrying out an undisputed aggression against the neighbouring state rather than implement the obligations under the Geneva agreements. This is a violation of all universally-recognized international norms.

Islamabad's subversive activity, the message points out, exposes peace and security in the region and throughout the world to a real threat. At this complex moment of history the Afghan people constantly feel the Soviet Union's support and assistance aimed at restoring peace in Afghanistan as soon as possible and at healing the war-inflicted wounds. The Afghan people are grateful to the Soviet Union for the assistance which is a firm and resolute reply to those who stir up bloodshed and fratricide. The Republic of Afghanistan will continue to make every effort to settle the Afghan problem. However, in the event of a continuation and escalation of Pakistan's aggression and interference, the Afghan side reserves the right to apply to the Soviet Union for help.

The participants in the forum sent a message to U.S. President George Bush, emphasising that the U.S. Administration should reconsider and change its policy with regard to Afghanistan and meet its commitments as a guarantor country under the Geneva agreements.

The Loya Jirgah also sent messages to the leaders of China, Iran, India, the United Nations secretary-general, the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, the chairman of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, the secretary-general of the League of Arab States, to the Euro-parliament, the Interparliamentary Union and the Pakistani parliament in a request to promote the cause of normalising the situation in Afghanistan, removing the threat of an armed aggression from the outside, and ending interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

The participants in the Loya Jirgah addressed messages to the Afghan people, to the servicemen of the Afghan Armed Forces, the Afghan refugees, to the Pushtuns and Baluchis, the commanders of armed anti-government groups operating inside the country as well as the commanders of Iran-based rebel groups.

The messages call on them in every way to contribute to the restoration of peace and security on Afghan soil, to unite in the face of foreign armed aggression, to defend the native land against the threat which hangs over its territorial integrity and sovereignty, to enter a peaceful all-Afghan dialogue on ways to achieve national reconciliation and to promote the rehabilitation of the national economy.

A closing speech at the Loya Jirgah was delivered by Afghan President Najibullah. He once again called on the commanders of anti-government groups operating inside the country, specifically Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, Turan Ismail, Sayyed Jagran and a number of others to take the road of dialogue with all forces that are genuinely interested in an end to the senseless war in Afghanistan and to ensure its sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence in the face of Pakistani aggression and to defend the land of their forefathers against foreign intervention.

Gromov Discusses Jalalabad, Afghan Situation
AT 1705190189 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German
12 May 89 pp 166-171

[Interview with Lieutenant General Boris Gromov, former commander of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan and current commander of the Soviet Army in the Kiev Military District, by Joerg R. Mettke in Kiev Military District headquarters: "The Enemies Raged Like Animals", date of interview not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Lieutenant General, the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan started 11 months ago. You were their commander. You withdrew your first soldiers from Jalalabad, the city that is now surrounded by opposition rebels. How long will it be possible to hold Jalalabad?

Gromov: This question can be answered only against the background of the overall situation in Afghanistan. This situation is characterized by difficulties on the one hand and by something strange, to put it mildly, on the other. First, the difficulties. The opposition members are completely without inhibitions in their way of practically spitting on the Geneva agreement. One cannot call this anything else: Pakistan, the United States, Saudi Arabia, and others even support them in this. Then there is this blockade of Jalalabad. It is true: The foodstuffs are no longer sufficient, nor are the stocks of ammunition—an extremely serious situation.

DER SPIEGEL: What do you find strange about the war in Afghanistan?

Gromov: This is directly connected with the above-mentioned things. A year ago some statesmen signed an agreement in Geneva, probably fully aware of the responsibility they accepted in doing this. The Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan have fulfilled their obligations 100 percent, and this is not even doubted in the West. However, Pakistan and the United States are not adhering to this agreement, but are doing the exact opposite. Normal common sense does not suffice to understand how politicians, who want to be seen as solid and serious, can act in this way.

DER SPIEGEL: By supporting the mujahidin with arms deliveries?

Gromov: Of course. The opposition would not be able to do much alone, without support from the outside. And there is not only the transport of weapons. We know without a doubt that regular Pakistani troops, entire divisions with heavy weapons and the corresponding air force support, are operating near Jalalabad.

DER SPIEGEL: Pakistan denies this. Did you find any proof during your stay in Afghanistan that Pakistani army units fight on the side of the Mujahidin?

Gromov: There were such cases and we pointed them out repeatedly. I myself saw this last between November 1987 and January 1988, at the destruction of the blockade of Khowst. At that time, too, in addition to infantry the Pakistani Air Force was massively involved—with helicopters and also with planes.

DER SPIEGEL: However, today, in Jalalabad, the government troops must manage alone—and if they are overrun, the road to Kabul is free for the rebel commandos.

Gromov: Admittedly, the government troops must fulfill a very difficult task, but so far they have shown themselves at their best. When the opposition started its enormous attack with open Pakistani support on 9 April, it was said that they wanted to conquer Jalalabad within a few days. Every day between 5,000 and 20,000 impacts are counted in the city. The pressure is enormous, but nevertheless the enemy cannot reach his goal.

I do not exclude the possibility that the city might fall into the hands of the opposition for some time. However, in this case the city would become a symbol and motive force for the entire Afghan people to defend themselves as they did against the British in the last century.

DER SPIEGEL: Is it a point of personal satisfaction for you that the government troops are obviously better, more energetic, and more disciplined after your withdrawal than many people expected?

Gromov: Yes, it is. We helped this army to its feet, trained it, and thus established the foundations for its current combat spirit. People from the outside were not always able to see this spirit, because while we were still in the country the government troops always knew that we would help in the most difficult situations.

DER SPIEGEL: Now President Najibullah is making one concession after the other to the rebel commanders. They are even to be permitted to establish their own administrations in the areas they control. Does this not confirm the opposition's claim that the Kabul government controls only the larger towns?

Gromov: No. Since the "policy of national reconciliation" started in 1987, the government has always said that everything must be subordinate to its main goal—that is, ending the bloodshed. With this the people everywhere were given the opportunity to freely choose the administration they want.

This is neither a concession to nor a retreat before the opposition. Those who pledge to cease fighting are to participate in leading the country and will receive any possible material support from Kabul.

DER SPIEGEL: The late insight that the influence of the Kabul central government is very limited and that in the rest of the country the khans and tribal warriors are the ones that rule...

Gromov: The more prudent leaders have always learned this lesson from Afghan history. Take the tribe of the Jadran, who live between Khowst and Gardeyz in the Eastern border province of Pakia: These people have never recognized any government. It has never been possible to live without compromises, and it is still impossible in Afghanistan. These interrelationships were most marked at the time of the monarchy. The tribes had to be able live in their way and the central government needed support on important questions that could be dealt with successfully only by the central power.

DER SPIEGEL: Should the Soviet Union continue to steadily supply weapons to Kabul?

Gromov: There is a long-term treaty between our two countries about political, economic, and military assistance. This treaty does not contradict the UN Charter. Therefore, we will naturally continue to support Afghanistan's legitimate government. I do not know what the future scope of military aid will be, but assistance in the economic field will certainly increase.

DER SPIEGEL: Does Kabul already have weapons whose use has not been considered necessary or appropriate?

Gromov: I do not know which weapons the government troops have today. After all, 2 months have already passed since I left. However, in the past they used everything they had.

DER SPIEGEL: In the meantime, the rebels have allegedly acquired missiles that can reach Kabul from Pakistani territory. Conversely, Soviet Scud missiles also enable the government army to retaliate beyond Afghanistan's borders. Is an escalation of the war imminent?

Gromov: The fact that Pakistan obviously is not adhering to the Geneva agreement may have serious consequences, which then will not only affect the opposition, but also Pakistan. Nobody wants this. We are in favor of ending the war. However, for this purpose Pakistan would have to change its behavior.

DER SPIEGEL: Pakistan has not recognized the provisional opposition government, but has now accepted the demand for the establishment of special UN observer posts along the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Does this not indicate that Mr Bhutto's government is cautiously putting some distance between itself and the mujahidin?

Gromov: Not at all. If Mr Bhutto did not recognize the so-called Alliance of Vectors—that is, the opposition groups operating from Pakistan—the would have long ago deprived them of their base of operations. By the way, this is precisely what the Geneva agreement calls for. Are the regular Pakistani Army units near Jalalabad proof of this distancing?

DER SPIEGEL: Do you consider possible a situation in which the Geneva agreement becomes completely useless and Kabul, too, will no longer adhere to it?

Gromov: I think the Afghan Government would never do this.

DER SPIEGEL: You have always defended the 9-year military involvement of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan as necessary and justified. Is this still your view?

Gromov: My view has not changed in this respect. What is now happening in Afghanistan practically confirms it. Last year, too, there were a lot of examples. Just take Konduz. When this village was freed from the opposition, one could see there how they had ragged among the civilian population—like animals. One must expect people to act differently. Or take Jalalabad. Who is suffering most there? The civilian population. However, all this would have happened much earlier and the Afghan Government would have been capable of much less resistance if we had not followed their request for help at that time. There cannot be any doubt about this.

DER SPIEGEL: Nevertheless, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about "our old sins" in connection with Afghanistan at the Moscow City party conference in mid-January. How do you understand this judgment?

Gromov: I do not know about this statement.

DER SPIEGEL: At the beginning of the withdrawal you insisted on the statement that your soldiers were not leaving as losers. However, you did not leave Afghanistan as winners, either. Could this mean that a modern army is not at all able to win such a guerrilla war?

Gromov: Neither at the invasion nor during our fighting there did we set ourselves the task of achieving a "victory."

DER SPIEGEL: At least you wanted to achieve peace under Kabul's conditions, and these were also Soviet conditions.

Gromov: Peace cannot be achieved by military means alone. It also needs the corresponding political preconditions. However, if one leaves aside all other points of view—political and economic points of view, our respect for the peace-loving Afghan people—and looks at this war only in terms of the military aspect, it would not have been a great problem to leave the country as "winners." However, we did not have this goal. I was there at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of these 9 years. At any time we did 60 or 70 percent of the non-military tasks such as the construction of schools, hospitals, and supply facilities.

DER SPIEGEL: However, only little is left of the traditional friendship between the Afghans and the Russians after 9 years of military intervention.

Gromov: Who says so? I was in Afghanistan for almost 6 years and I was able to see everywhere that the simple, peace-loving people unvaryingly maintained their friendship with the Soviet Union, in particular in the areas where we were stationed.

DER SPIEGEL: Before you left Afghanistan this February as the last Soviet soldier, a Moscow newspaper wrote that you would stop for a moment on the border bridge near Termez and speak to yourself. What were you thinking at this moment?

Gromov: This is right, I stopped a moment and talked to myself. Someone later wrote that it was exactly 67 seconds. Probably all people have the beautiful tradition to silently think for a minute of those who did not live to see such a day. Thus, I, too, thought for a minute of my dead comrades, and the 7 seconds were dedicated to all those who had returned home safely. Of course, I was also pleased and relieved that we had fulfilled our military assignment.

DER SPIEGEL: In the meantime you are not only an officer but also a politician as a newly elected deputy to the Soviet People's Congress. Can you imagine a development in Afghanistan or somewhere else outside the USSR's borders where you would advocate, perhaps even demand, a direct intervention of Soviet soldiers?

Gromov: If such a development occurred somewhere, I am confident that the question about the potential consequences would be widely discussed and a decision would be made only after this. At present you can see for yourself that in our country political problems are solved in a democratic climate of complete openness. Word and deed are no longer in contradiction to each other.

By the way, in Afghanistan we always had an open door for the representatives of the mass media. Personally, I think that such weighty decisions as you mentioned in your question can be decided only by the entire people, by the People's Congress, by the Supreme Soviet. I am sure that this will be the case in the future, and I would hope that all other states also think and act in this way.

DER SPIEGEL: Lieutenant General, we thank you for this interview.

Afghan War Threatens To 'Sing' Neighbors
LD2105174789 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1146 GMT 21 May 89

[Commentary by TASS political observer Yuriy Kornilov]

[Text] Moscow, 21 May (TASS)—TASS political observer Yuriy Kornilov writes:

The more time passes since the signing of the Geneva agreements, the clearer it becomes that certain circles in Islamabad view these agreements as an empty piece of paper and are ready to do literally anything for the sake of achieving their own interventionist goals.

This has been and is perfectly obvious, in particular, concerning the events in Jalalabad. The so-called "irreconcilable opposition," which it would be more precise to call the aggressor's hired formation, has been trying in vain for a long time to seize the town, using U.S. weapons and acting under directions from Pakistani generals. Pakistani militias are taking part in combat action, and the rebels are supplied with ammunition by Pakistani helicopters. Islamabad's interference in the military operations is increasing day by day. That is why Kabul has had to state for all to hear that if Pakistani divisions and tanks take an overt part in the sieging of Jalalabad, the Government of Afghanistan will make missile strikes against positions of the formations of "irreconcilables" on Pakistan's territory.

Such an action is a legitimate right for a country protecting its independence and sovereignty in the event of aggression from outside. What, one wonders, are those preparing the aggression after? What guides their calculations?

"The Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan are a real force, capable of withstanding the opposition." "The Afghan leadership has realistic forces to rebuff any military adventures," Army General Valentin Varennikov, who has just been on a friendly working visit to Kabul, states in a TASS interview. There is no doubt at all about the competence and justification for these judgements. It is characteristic that many Western observers and press organs, including U.S. ones, which just a few months ago were predicting that as soon as the Soviet troops left Afghanistan the "Kabul regime would fall like a house of cards," have noticeably changed their tune today and admit, some plainly, others through gritted teeth, that Kabul, leaning on the support of a considerable proportion of the people, has the ability and the skill to rebuff the armed interlopers.

It would seem that all this should urge on Islamabad and those backing it to draw a sober conclusion, based on the existing realities, that the solution of the "Afghan problem" cannot be achieved with the help of aggression and military pressure, that the only way to solve the problem is to put an end to the interference, hold peaceful negotiations, and set up a coalition government. But no, the enemies of a settlement, flagrantly flouting the Geneva agreements, as we see, are reckoning on "strong-arm methods," are conducting a policy directed at expanding the conflict, at an undisguised armed conflict between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Who benefits from such a policy, whose interests does it correspond to? In any event, not the interests of the Afghan and Pakistani peoples who would like to live in peace and harmony with their neighbors. Naturally, it is not in the interests of the cause of peace in Asia either.

The attempts of the Pakistani military to start undisguised aggression against the neighboring country cannot be called anything but recklessness. The time has come for the world community to take a more active stand with regard to this conflict, which is threatening to engulf the surrounding regions.

Afghan Government 'Capable of Defending Itself'

LD2005211489 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT
20 May 89

[Commentary by TASS political news analyst Valery Vasilov]

[Text] Moscow May 21 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Valery Vasilov:

General of the Army Valentin Varennikov, commander-in-chief of land forces and Deputy Minister of Defence of the USSR, made a friendly working visit to Afghanistan recently.

Setting out his point of view of the military and political situation in that country, he has told the TASS analyst that, contrary to forecasts by political figures and experts on Afghanistan, particularly those in the West, about an inevitable and early collapse of the legitimate government, Kabul is proving ever more confidently that it is capable of defending itself. Despite the expansion of aid and support from the United States, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and some other countries to the rebels, government troops continue to hold the main provincial centres, main roads and major cities of the republic.

Describing his visit he pointed out a rise in the morale of the population and the personnel of the Armed Forces, consolidation and confidence in the actions of country's leadership, the well thought-out and efficient nature of its work and increasingly positive changes in the attitude by all sections of Afghan population towards the Soviet Union.

"The people see who is a real friend and gives material assistance, and who is an enemy and shells peaceful cities and brings death and misfortune to the population," he emphasised.

Analysing the position of the rebels that are busy imposing a military way for solving the conflict, the Soviet general said that the opposition would have long lost its strength, were it not for financial and military aid from the United States, Pakistan and a number of Moslem countries. It is precisely those countries that, in breach of the Geneva agreements, make for a continuation of the Afghan tragedy. But they all overestimate the strength of the opposition and underestimate the capability of the Republic of Afghanistan.

As for the assertion that "80-90 percent of the country's territory is controlled by the opposition," this is a myth. Actually the "interim government" is in control of some districts in the East and South of the country, and of individual villages in the North, i.e. not more than 20-30 percent of the country's territory.

The Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan, in the general's estimate, are a real force capable of resisting the opposition. The aggregate strength of the armed forces is about 300,000 well equipped and trained fighters. The command of the armed forces has had a good training and sufficient experience in organising and conducting combat operations. Troops are armed with up-to-date combat hardware and weapons, have been trained well enough and have gained combat experience.

He particularly singled out a good training of air pilots, musketeers and artillery gunners. Infantry and tank units have shown high combat qualities lately.

Measures have been taken to improve the organization of the defence of Kabul, other large centres and major facilities of the country.

The opposition has considerably lost its prestige both in Afghanistan and abroad over the past three months, the general maintains. Therefore quite understandable are its ambitions to score if only some military success soon at all costs in order to boost its political prestige.

The leaders of the "Alliance of Seven" expect to install the so-called interim government in Jalalabad. But it is clear to everyone, the general said, that this step is inevitably doomed to failure. The legitimate government of Afghanistan possesses such weapon systems which can destroy any target within hours.

Speaking of prospects for the development of the current situation in Afghanistan, the general pointed out that events may develop along one of two main directions.

The first and the main one is—if common sense prevails among representatives of all parties—that will lead to cessation of the fratricidal war. The way to that is through the national reconciliation policy and through the formation of the broadest-based coalition government.

The other direction—if accord is not achieved and everything remain deadlocked—combat operations would go on inflicting new casualties and destruction would gain in scope. But even when considering the second version, one should bear in mind that the Afghan leadership has real strength to repulse any military ventures. One can say that Kabul can in the end achieve peace although that would entail a greater loss of life.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ethiopia 'Calm' in Aftermath of Coup Attempt
EA200522689 Moscow International Service
in Amharic 1330 GMT 19 May 89

[Anonymous commentary from "Few of Many" program]

[Text] According to Addis Ababa radio, following the foiling of the coup d'état in Ethiopia the situation is calm in the country's capital. Security is being preserved and government offices safeguarded, while the patrolling forces controlling the main roads, and the tanks, are being withdrawn from Addis Ababa.

Among the coup plotters, General Fatsa Belay, the minister of industry, has been arrested and other leaders of the conspiracy completely crushed, the radio further reported. The latest news reports from Ethiopia say that the leaders of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF], which wants to dismember Eritrea from Ethiopia, supported the conspirators.

The identity of the forces waging an antigovernment struggle has been clearly demonstrated. These are: the violent conspiring generals, the Eritrean secessionists, and Amha Selassie, the son of the former emperor, whose voice echoed from London at the beginning of May. It is known that Amha Selassie [passage indistinct].

The section of the army in Eritrea which supported the conspirators who put the country on the verge of civil strife did not show any concern for the wishes and aspirations of the people. It is sad that the attempted coup d'état was conducted at a time when preparations are under way to hold elections to the national Shengo in different parts of the country.

Another saddening situation is that the conspiracy has disrupted the strengthening of efforts by the Ethiopian Government to find a peaceful solution to the Eritrean problem which threatens the country's unity.

Recently, the Ethiopian leaders had met and held talks with leaders of Sudan, Iraq, Egypt, and Syria. It is to be recalled that the relations between Ethiopia and these governments were gloomy due to the Eritrean problem. Recently, these governments have supported the efforts being made by the Ethiopian leaders to find a political solution to the problem. They have also expressed their readiness to assist Eritrean refugees in returning to their homeland. The People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [PDRE] national Shengo Council members had called for the granting of a total amnesty to the Eritrean secessionists. The Ethiopian leader, Mengistu Haile Mariam, met and held talks with representatives of the Christian inhabitants of Eritrea on 15 May.

Now, however, these constructive steps are on the verge of doom. This is because the conspiring spirit of the generals who plotted the conspiracy obliged them to leave aside far-sightedness and the efforts toward solving the problems of the people. Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam has said that Ethiopia should not be the second Lebanon. The Ethiopian people, who scored proud victories by defending the independence and territorial integrity of the country by struggling against the colonizers, even today safeguard its unity, peace, and sense of brotherhood.

The working people have opposed the crime committed by anti-revolutionary forces. The country's mass organizations have issued statements condemning the anti-people acts of the conspirators. In the afternoon and radio statement he gave to the Ethiopian people, President Mengistu Haile Mariam declared that government troops were in control of the situation in the country. It has been affirmed that the Asmara radio station is once again in the hands of the entire Ethiopian people, instead of a few conspirators, and is expressing their readiness to safeguard the revolutionary victories.

South African Official Interviewed on Apartheid
18070274 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian 17 May 89 p 9

[Interview with RSA Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs K. Meiring by TASS correspondent A. Korzun and GOSTELRADIO correspondent A. Sokolov in Capetown; date of interview not given]

[Text] *The interview, which is being published here in abbreviated form, was given by RSA [Republic of South Africa] Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs K. Meiring to TASS correspondent A. Korzun and GOSTELRADIO [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] correspondent A. Sokolov in Capetown.*

[Question] The process of settling the conflict in south-west Africa is now in progress. Several years ago it was difficult to imagine that Angola, Cuba, the RSA, the USSR, and the United States would gather around a negotiating table. In your opinion, what factors contributed to this?

[Meiring] It is fantastic. The only way to settle problems and to get to know each other is to meet and to talk. As for the reasons, there are two, in my opinion. It is clear to us that a totally new era is being born in Moscow. Consciousness and thinking change. We have the impression that Moscow now looks at the situation in Africa realistically on the whole, and that it understands that Africa is not Moscow, that there are absolutely different conditions, and that, possibly, Africans can solve the problems of the continent more easily by themselves. We frequently had occasion to observe how the countries of Europe, including Russia, came to Africa and did not achieve real results. This is one side of the question. The other is South Africa itself. We have to get out of the isolation in which we now find ourselves. In not wanting to become stagnant, given our natural resources and human capabilities, we need the outside world. Up until today, people supposed that South Africa should not trade with those who are behind the "iron curtain." But why not?

[Question] But continuation of the apartheid system is the reason for your isolation.

[Meiring] There is no doubt about the fact that my government understands this very well. We have to say goodbye to apartheid. We should reform the country. And we are ready to share the authority and material values of the country.

[Question] It sounds revolutionary.

[Meiring] We would like to erase the first letter of this word and do this in an "evolutionary" rather than in a "revolutionary" way. We are very sincere in our efforts. But we need a bit of help and also—sympathy. Sanctions and the denial of investments hinder us very much in the

conduct of reforms. The Soviet Union never did this. I think that under the present conditions the Soviet Union cannot introduce sanctions against South Africa.

When we talk about reforms, it is important to consider with what speed they should be implemented...

I am convinced that the majority of South Africans want evolutionary and not revolutionary changes. The problems of South Africa can be resolved only through negotiations, which, however, cannot be approached with weapons. We proposed to the ANC [African National Congress] that it reject force and enter into negotiations.

But it must not be forgotten that reforms go hand-in-hand with instability. This can also be seen in the example of the USSR where, in the epoch of restructuring and glasnost, serious problems, accompanying reforms, are cropping up in a number of republics. In your case, there is no other choice but to proceed in the interests of the moderate majority for whom you preserve order and security in behalf of the continuation of these reforms. The situation in South Africa is extremely complicated. A first and third world exist in one country, and there is nothing like this anywhere else in the world. Our task is to bridge the gap between them, by raising the third world to the first, and to broaden democracy, which we are now trying to do. I am against the RSA taking a path that many neighboring countries took, where there was a breakdown in the economy and democracy. One-party systems exist in a majority of the countries of Africa. We do not want this.

[Question] Can you give at least an approximate time period for the completion of reforms?

[Meiring] Europe, including Russia, required about 2,000 years in order to arrive at the present constitutional democracy. In America, 200-300 years transpired before the constitution in its present form was worked out. I think that we have not done so badly in the last 10 years. People who came here 10 years ago say that the country has become almost unrecognizable. Here are just a few of the changes. We have the strongest economy in Africa, and we are extending its scope. Up until now it was practically in the hands of the whites. We are now working on the creation of a strong middle class among the black inhabitants who must take part in economic life. The coloreds and Indians now have representatives in parliament. As for the blacks, they are in the executive councils of the provinces. Undoubtedly, the blacks, in the final analysis, should come to the central government, and, I assure you, that we are close to this.

[Question] In that case, why don't you lift the state of emergency which was introduced in the country almost 2 years ago?

[Meiring] Over many years the people in South Africa thought that the situation could be changed only through revolution. In 1986, the government decided that it could no longer reconcile itself to violence. This violence very rarely occurred between blacks and whites, and in 95 percent of the cases this violence was between blacks and blacks. And then a state of emergency was declared which included press restrictions. We were forced to do this. We want reforms. But this requires a calm situation. From the moment the state of emergency was introduced, disturbances decreased, literally speaking, from 100 to 5 percent.

[Question] In that case, why don't you abolish the state of emergency?

[Meiring] I agree with you. I think that the government will abolish it in the shortest possible time. We will have elections in September. And although I would personally like the state of emergency to be abolished, from all appearances, it would not be sensible to do this before the elections, which have to be conducted in a calm situation.

East Europe

Civil Unrest Continues in Krakow for Third Day

City President Issues Warning

LD1905115489 Moscow TASS in English 1137 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Warsaw May 19 TASS—According to the PAP news service, riots provoked by supporters of the illegal "Wolność i Pokój" group continue for the third day running in Krakow. Meetings under anti-government and anti-socialist slogans are being held in the city's main market.

Aggressive youngsters interfere with the traffic, hurl stones and bottles at militiamen, attempt to put up barricades. The disturbances are being cut short resolutely by public security forces.

The city president issued a warning, said that in recent days Krakow had become an arena of unlawful manifestations and street riots. Anti-Soviet actions and excesses were recorded during these outrages. The generally accepted principles of ensuring the safety of diplomatic missions were breached. Traffic was blocked in the centre of the city, public and private property was destroyed. The health and life of Krakow residents, as well as of Polish and foreign tourists, were jeopardized.

The city president recalled that he had permitted manifestations within the compounds of Jagiellonian University. Any demonstration outside its bounds requires a permission from the local organs of state administration. However, this principle has been outrageously violated.

Guided by concern for the wellbeing of local residents and by respect for the law, I urge the university authorities, the students and their parents to refrain from further actions, violating law and order, marring the city's reputation, the president stressed. At the same time, I warn that administrative, disciplinary and even penal sanctions will be taken against anyone who violates the law.

Krakow has always been and must remain a city of law and order, tranquility and culture, the city president stressed.

Envoy in Krakow on Demonstrations

LD2005230189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 20 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Brovnikov, the USSR ambassador to the Polish People's Republic, has had a meeting with Gajewicz, first secretary of the Krakow Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Committee, and Salwa, the town's mayor. He expressed the Soviet public's concern over the incidents in front of the USSR general consulate in Krakow. Our correspondent in Krakow, Yuriy Ulyanov, reports:

[Ulyanov] For several days, beginning 15 May, youth rallies took place here under anti-Soviet slogans. The demonstrations began here and then proceeded to the gates of the Krakow USSR General Consulate in the Polish People's Republic. [video shows square, building of general consulate]

[Begin recording] [Ulyanov] Tell us what it was like.

[P.D. Sandachuk, USSR general consul in Krakow—captioned] On 16 and 17 May our general consulate became the target of provocative activities by young people belonging to underground organizations—illegal organizations—here in Krakow, such as the Freedom and Peace Movement and the Confederation of Independent Poland. They came along here to the general consulate, numbering about 60-70 people on the first day.

[Ulyanov] Where did they march?

[Sandachuk, pointing to the gates of consulate compound] They came right in here, sat down in front of the fence, and hung up their slogans and banners in Russian, Polish, and English, slogans directed against our party, our people, and the Soviet Army. [end recording]

[Ulyanov] Krakow is known as the cradle of Polish culture. So what about respect for diplomatic missions, which is something accepted the world over?

[Begin unidentified man recording in Polish with super-imposed Russian translation] I don't think there is any need for such outbursts. Even if young people have some view of their own that is different from everyone else's, there are normal ways of expressing them. [end recording]

[Ulyanov] But who is to blame for what has happened? We hope that the Polish authorities will find out, and answer this question. A Polish Press Agency commentary has already named one of the initiators—those opposition circles that are trying to capitalize on anti-Sovietism in the run-up to the Sejm elections of 4 June. It's a dishonest game, and a dirty one, too.

'Anxiety' Over Krakow Events

LD2005131889 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1121 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, 20 May (TASS)—Correspondents Valentin Volkov and Mikhail Mmalchun report: V.I. Brovnikov, the USSR ambassador to the Polish People's Republic, who was in Krakow on 19 May, met with Ju. Gajewicz, first secretary of the Krakow Polish People's Workers Party [PZPR] committee, and with the town's mayor T. Salwa. He expressed the anxiety of the USSR general consulate building in Krakow.

Responsibility for the anti-Soviet and antisocialist outbursts of groups of extremist young people has been assumed by the leader of the illegal grouping "Confederation of Independent Poland" (KPN), L. Moczulski. Addressing a KPN election meeting, he stated that the slogan "Soviets go home", which was being shouted by the young people, has already long ago been written in the KPN's program. He spoke of the need "to put an end to the communist regime once and for all." At the same time, KPN activists were chanting: "Down with the communists", "Soviets go home," "Jaruzelski must go."

These street disorders in Krakow were being shot for U.S. television. Taking an active part in shooting these pictures and in commenting on them were film director A. Wajda, who assailed the "Soviet totalitarian regime" and extolled in every possible way the young people's demonstrations, and also the participant in the "round table" from "Solidarity" K. Kozlowski, and one of the leaders of the "Liberty and Peace" grouping, Ja. Rakita.

The representatives of the Krakow authorities expressed regret in connection with the disorders which have taken place, stressing that the inhabitants of the town, which owes its rescue from destruction in the war period to the Soviet Army, have always behaved with respect and cordiality toward the Soviet Union.

At the extraordinary meeting with the participation of protectors and chairmen of the student self-government, the collegium of rectors of Krakow institutions of higher learning condemned the incidents in front of the USSR

general consulate building and expressed regret in connection with the act that young people, including students, had taken part in them. It was stressed that outbursts of such a kind run counter to Polish political culture and do not serve the country's interests.

Profound indignation in connection with the events in Krakow has been expressed by the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society. A statement issued by its presidium main board says that in the course of the anarchistic demonstrations members of the illegal organizations "Liberty and Peace" and "the Confederation of Independent Poland" had defiled the USSR emblem. Such actions cast aspersions on the centuries-old Polish traditions of respect for other peoples. Our alliance and Polish-Soviet friendship are inseparable from the development of Poland, which is following the road of reforms and renewal, the document says.

Krakow Authorities 'Regret' Incidents

LD1905213989 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2058 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, 20 May (TASS)—Vladimir Brovnikov, USSR ambassador to Poland, who was in Krakow on 19 May, met with Jozef Gajewicz, first secretary of the Krakow Polish United Workers Party Committee, and Tadeusz Salwa, the governor of the town.

The Soviet ambassador expressed the disquiet of the public in the Soviet Union concerning the anti-Soviet incident outside the USSR General consulate in Krakow.

The representatives of the municipal authorities expressed regret over the incidents that took place, stressing that the residents of Krakow, a town which owes its safety from destruction during the war to the Soviet Army, always treat the Soviet Union with respect and cordiality. The recent street unrest cannot change this view.

During the conversation many other issues were also discussed concerning the mutual contacts between the two countries and Krakow's links with its sister town, Kiev.

Outbursts Cast 'Shadow' in Poland

LD2105175289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] As you know, comrades, extremist groups of young people held demonstrations beneath anti-Soviet slogans for several days in Krakow. What is the situation in the city like now? I will ask our correspondent in Poland, Vladimir Mikhaylenko, to tell us about this.

[Mikhaylenko] It is calm in Krakow today. Beneath the chestnut trees where for 3 days fire-crackers exploded, blackbirds now hop about. The city services have cleared away the broken bricks, swept up the glass, and having taken down the barricades, have put the park benches

back in their positions. On Westerplatte Street, the fence of our consulate general has been repainted. It is an indisputable fact that the vandalistic outbursts in Krakow have cast a shadow over the mood in both the city and the whole of Poland. Here are just a few utterances on this matter.

Antoni Gietkowski, a professor at the Krakow medical academy, asserts that definite forces striving to hinder the process of political and economic reform in Poland are behind the provocative outbursts at the Soviet consulate. His view is shared by Tadeusz Olechowski, Polish foreign minister. This action, he stated, is not only anti-Soviet and anti-socialist, but also anti-Polish.

Pensioner [name indistinct] said what happened here beneath the slogan of the movement of freedom and peace arouses indignation. I do not understand how such a thing could have been allowed in a city which was saved at the cost of the lives of Soviet soldiers. Many Poles call the ugly events in Krakow a ("blemish") on the election campaign under way in Poland. TRYBUNA LUDU writes that the provocateurs are voting with stones.

(Petr Danilovich Sorogochuk), consul general, relates that many of the residents of Krakow are expressing their support and signs of sympathy to us. For 3 days the consulate operated under extreme conditions but did not close. The employees of the Soviet Consulate General will participate in meetings of protest being held in Krakow and the Krakow vorvodship.

Incident 'Disgraces' All Poles

PM1905115989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 18 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Poland: Anti-Soviet Outburst"]

[Text] Ancient Krakow, saved 44 years ago by the Soviet Army from destruction by the fascists, was the scene of an anti-Soviet outburst on Tuesday [16 May].

PAP reports that this outburst was provoked by illegal groupings of young people and irresponsible extremists.

The self-styled orators shrieked anti-Soviet slogans by the Adam Mickiewicz monument in the historic center of the city. Then the crowd moved off to the premises of the USSR Consulate General in Krakow, where several dozen people ostentatiously sat down in the road.

The sit-in demonstration was broken up by militia intervention. Some 45 people were arrested, most of them students from the local Jagiellonian University.

It should be recalled that in February a group of young hooligans desecrated the monument in Krakow erected in gratitude to the Soviet soldier liberators. This outburst provoked sharp censure from the Polish public, including young people.

Commenting on the anti-Soviet attack in Krakow, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote today that this irresponsible and amoral behavior disgraces Poland and all Poles, especially since children were involved in the provocative outburst. A host of young people had appeared on Krakow's streets, allowing themselves to get involved in an adventure shameful to national dignity. Unfortunately, it is from such individual but shameful facts that the world forms its impression of Poland. The incident should induce bitter thoughts in the parents, teachers, and instructors of these young people as well as in opposition circles which do not identify themselves with, but at the same time do not oppose, this kind of outburst. However, TRYBUNA LUDU writes that the introduction of a confrontational character to the Sejm and Senate election campaign is creating an unfavorable climate which contributes to this kind of immoral behavior.

PRAVDA Reports Demonstrations

PM1905122789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 May 89 Second Edition p 7

[Dispatch by own correspondent A. Starukhin: "Act of Provocation in Krakow"]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 May—For 2 days the illegal pseudopacifist youth grouping "Freedom and Peace" and the illegal "independent union of students" have been provoking anti-Soviet demonstrations in Krakow.

Gathering 16 May in the city center at the monument to A. Mickiewicz, a group of about 100 young people advanced on the Soviet consulate shouting slogans like "Soviets go home!" Matters reached the point of extremely offensive outbursts and outrages against the symbols of our country. On the posters the red star, hammer and sickle were depicted as gallows. Small change was flung over the fence, accompanied by shouts of: "That's for your ticket [home]!" Then the "demonstrators" entered into a fight with the militia. Some 45 people, including 27 Jagiellonian University students, were arrested. As is well known, in the first days of March representatives of this higher educational establishment had already distinguished themselves in a similar manner by organizing a brawl at the monument of thanks to the Soviet liberating soldiers.

And now there has been a new onslaught...

All those arrested were soon allowed home. What conclusion they had drawn was shown the next day: In the morning leaflets urging the population to take part in a meeting appeared in Krakow. At 1400 hours the meeting began. The "speakers" were the same as the day before but the assemblage now numbered up to 300 people. As they advanced they blocked public transport, called the militiamen "members of the Gestapo," and smashed private automobiles parked next to the sidewalks. And

again they were drawn toward the Soviet consulate. A hail of stones sailed over the fence and attempts were made to penetrate the building of our diplomatic mission.

The militia literally entered into a skirmish with the unbridled hooligans, using water cannon and tear gas. The result of this clash was that 7 people who happened to be passing by were injured, as were over 20 militia workers, with 2 being hospitalized. Some 19 vehicles belonging to the law enforcement organs were put out of commission. Some 19 violators were arrested. After an appropriate talk they were released.

According to a PAP report, M. Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, has received V. Brovnikov, USSR ambassador to Poland. The theme of their talk was problems of mutual interest and concern. The Polish press is denouncing the actions of the extremist section of young people acting under the banners of "Freedom and Peace" and "the independent union of students." The newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU has reported that A. Zaleski, the voivodship prosecutor, has started an investigation in connection with the violation of order in the city and with a view to establishing who is guilty of illegal actions. The public will be informed of the results, the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee organ writes. The Polish press agency stresses in its commentary that the events whose arena the streets and squares of Krakow have become are generating a feeling of anger and disquiet.

Hungary's Strike Legislation in Operation

PM1705101189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 May 89 Second Edition p. 5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov report under the rubric "Socialist Countries: Events, Facts, Commentaries": "Going on Strike: Is It Legal?"]

[Text] Budapest, 15 May—Recently the public demanded the closure of a bauxite mine which is destroying a healthy lake. Following the government's positive response, the miners decided to stage a strike. It is not so easy nowadays to find work in some parts of Hungary.

The conflict was resolved and the strike did not take place. The mine will be phased out gradually and everyone will be given new jobs. And, as a tourist center, the lake will generate a considerable revenue for the national economy.

The law on strikes passed in Hungary is becoming a "working document." Although there have only been two or three serious situations connected with strike action in Hungary in the last year, state and trade union bodies and labor collective councils consider this document topical nevertheless.

"Questions of the legal regulation of relations between employers and working people are very important, and this is in the interests of both sides," Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council, told me.

The law was passed after stormy debate. S. Nagy said that thanks to trade union intervention the final version is radically different from the original one. The articles of the document provide for the possibility of calling a strike to protect one's economic and social interests. The same applies to solidarity strikes. But strikes which are at variance with the Constitution, are intended to encroach on the rights of other working people, and could lead to a worsening of ecological problems are considered illegal. An independent court is to be set up with responsibility for labor conflicts, which will decide there and then whether proposed strike action accords with the requirements of the law. Participants in illegal strikes may have their labor contract severed.

Hungarian Opposition Youth Group FIDES Viewed

18070611

[Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian for 14 April 1989 publishes on page 3 a 1,700-word article by own correspondent A. Kaverznev on the Hungarian Association of Young Democrats [FIDES], under the headline "Opponents and Arguments." The bulk of the item consists of an interview with Laszlo Kover, a member of FIDES' board; date and place not given.

Kaverznev states that FIDES "is in opposition to the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]... [and is] the basic and most influential political opponent of the Hungarian Komsomol." He recalls disapprovingly that FIDES was warned by the Hungarian police in April 1988 that its activities were illegal, and notes that now, by contrast, FIDES is a "member with full rights of the All-Hungarian Council of Youth Organizations." He says that although "one can argue with the young democrats' political views, it seems to me that it would be much more sensible to follow the example of the Hungarian Komsomol and carefully listen to FIDES' arguments." He states that other such groups "also have the right to represent their own interests."

In the interview, Kover describes how FIDES was organized, and calls it "in effect a confederation of various groups," based either on schools and workplaces or on special interests such as ecology. Kaverznev notes that a year ago, FIDES' demands, such as a mixed economy, parliamentary democracy and a multi-party system "seemed very radical," but that now these demands "surprise no one," and that even the MSZMP Central Committee has approved a multi-party system. Kover responds that although FIDES welcomes such declarations from the party, "we see no serious conviction or action behind the government's words." In foreign policy, Kover states, "Our final goal is a neutral Hungary

[and a] demilitarized Europe.... As opposed [to the Soviet Union], we never thought or declared that Hungary must necessarily belong to any military alliance." In domestic policy, Kover gives as FIDES' main goals the creation of a "law-based state" [pravovoye gosudarstvo] and a "real multi-party system." He states, "There is no essential difference between FIDES' goals and those of the Hungarian Komsomol" but foresees no common action by the two youth organizations: "We do not believe that, if the 700,000-member Komsomol and the 2,500-member FIDES acted in concert, it would make any greater impression on the government than if we spoke up separately."

On the 1956 uprising, Kover states, "FIDES' position is unequivocal: We see these events as a people's revolution [narodnaya revolyutsiya]. My personal opinion is that every person should have maximal information about what happened in 1956 and should form his own point of view."

In the section of his article following the interview with Kover, Kaverznev lists among FIDES' recent activities a protest against a hydroelectric project on the Danube and "demonstrations in defense of the national rights of Hungarians living abroad. A FIDES working group participated in the creation of the so-called 'workers solidarity'—a very dubious independent trade union confederation." Kaverznev also notes that the group has raised money in Austria and set up a "group of friends in England." He says that FIDES is "on the right wing of Hungarian political movements" and has made "insulting and in my opinion irresponsible attacks on the MSZMP [as if] nothing good has happened in the country in the 44 years since the war.... FIDES lives mainly by criticizing the MSZMP and the government. [Its statements are] very general... and it still has no constructive program, worked out in detail, of its own." Despite these criticisms, Kaverznev says that FIDES is still in its "organizing period, moreover in the stormy, constantly changing socio-political situation in today's Hungary.... Its positions on many questions will probably be corrected. And for all that, in the Hungarian youth movement FIDES is a force to be reckoned with."

Silayev, Bulgaria's Lukashov View Car Production
PM1805115189 Moscow PRAYDA in Russian
18 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met A. Lukashov, candidate member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Bulgarian minister of foreign economic relations, in Moscow 16 May. During the conversation they examined questions linked with organizing the production of small cars on the basis of bilateral cooperation.

West Europe

UK Announces Expulsion of Soviet Officials

LD2105214489 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2122 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] London, 22 May (TASS)—Today the British Foreign Office spokesman here announced the expulsion from this country, within 2 weeks, of 11 Soviet citizens—diplomats, staff of the trade mission, military attaches, and journalists - "for activities incompatible with their status."

No specific charges were made against them.

George Robinson, Labour shadow foreign secretary, demanded that the government explain in Parliament "What on earth was going on."

Soviets Expel UK Officials in Kind

LD2105095389 London PRESS ASSOCIATION
in English 0920 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] The Soviet Union has ordered the expulsion of eight British diplomats and three journalists in what it said was retaliation for a move by London to expel 11 Soviet citizens, British ambassador in Moscow Sir Rodric Braithwaite said today.

Reuter reported that Sir Rodric said the expulsions from Moscow were a "mirror image" for London's expulsion of Soviet diplomats and journalists on Friday. Three other British diplomats who have already left the Soviet Union were declared persona non grata.

Sir Rodric named the three British journalists, who were informed earlier today, as Angus Roxburgh of THE SUNDAY TIMES, Ian Glover-James of ITN and Jeremy Harris of the BBC.

The eight diplomats were second secretary Michael Anderson, naval attaché Captain Christopher Meyer, second secretary Adam Noble, vice-consul Helen Pickering, warrant officer Laing Purfit, assistant naval attaché Lieutenant-Commander Christopher Watson, third secretary Paul Sharp, and assistant military attaché Nigel Shakespear.

Sir Rodric said he was summoned by first deputy foreign minister Anatoliy Kovalyov last night to be informed of the Soviet move.

Soviet officials were informed of the expulsions from Britain the previous day but there was no announcement in London.

"This is retaliation with no objective justification for action taken in London the previous day—a mirror image," he said.

"We do not think this is in accordance with the way the relationship has been developing between the two countries and we have no desire that it should affect wider political relations."

A Foreign Office spokesman in London confirmed the expulsion of the Soviet officials who, he said, had been involved in "activities incompatible with their status".

On the Soviet retaliation, he said: "This is particularly regrettable at a moment when Anglo-Soviet relations were better than at any time in the past."

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev paid a three-day visit to Britain last month, holding talks with Mrs Thatcher and lunching with the queen.

Sir Rodric said the Britons had been given two weeks to leave the country, indicating that the same terms had been given to the Soviet side in London.

The mutual expulsions are the first of their kind since the two countries expelled 31 of each other's citizens in two waves in 1985. The 1985 row began when London ordered out 25 Soviet Embassy staff, journalists and trade officials after the defection of alleged Soviet spy chief Oleg Gordievsky.

When Moscow responded in kind Britain ordered out six more, prompting the expulsion of another six Britons from the Soviet Union as both sides waged a war of nerves, jarring a slow process of rapprochement between the two countries.

Soviet Pilot Flies MiG to Turkey, Seeks Asylum
PM2105174589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 May 89 First Edition p 8

[A. Gonokhov and G. Kashuba report: "The 'MiG' From Tsikhakaya"]

[Excerpts] As the press has already reported, on 20 May military airman A. Zuyev, who had been taken off flying duties, stole a MiG-29 jet aircraft from the Tsikhakaya airfield in western Georgia and flew it to Trabzon on the Black Sea coast of Turkey.

A USSR Defense Ministry spokesman told us yesterday:

The stolen aircraft took off at 0539. At 0546 from the same airfield, and 5 minutes later from another airfield, fighters took off with a view to stopping the theft, but this was unsuccessful because of the negligible distance to the state border and the speed of events. At around 0600 the MiG-29, which Turkish radar stations seem not to have detected, appeared in the Trabzon airfield zone and the pilot asked for permission to land, allegedly in English.

As a result of vigorous actions by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs agreement was reached with the Turkish side on returning the Soviet aircraft, and permission was obtained for an IL-76 transport to fly to Trabzon (this airliner landed there at 0944 on 21 May). The IL-76 (captained by military pilot first class Lieutenant Colonel S. Zhibankov) has on board military airmen tasked with refueling the fighter. As of 1400 hours on 21 May talks were taking place in Trabzon on the procedure for returning the aircraft. A group of generals and officers headed by Lieutenant General of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, first deputy commander in chief of the Air Force, is at work at Tsikhakaya airfield. It has started investigating the incident. According to available information, immediately after landing Zuyev asked for medical assistance and is presently in a Trabzon clinic. [passage omitted]

What is there to be said today in the immediate aftermath of an extraordinary occurrence which is unpleasant in every respect, when even the Air Force commission still does not have any very clear idea about the matter? The reader is entitled to ask: How could such a thing happen? We do not believe that it is necessary to go on at length about righteous anger toward the malefactor—a no-good is a no-good. But we would like to stress the following: Experience shows that legitimate anger toward a criminal sometimes results in a chain reaction of conclusions with organizational consequences. Conclusions are necessary, of course—who would dispute it?—and they will be made; and the personality of the former Soviet airman will be investigated. In any event it is important not to go down the simplistic path of bawling people out, banning things, and becoming over-cautious.

Our officers (although there are bad apples in every family, as they say) are people with a high sense of duty and honor. The Zuyevs of this world are not typical of them. The profession of defender of the fatherland is one we will continue to need for a long time yet.

As this edition of the newspaper was being signed off for printing we heard that Soviet representatives have examined the MiG-29 fighter at Trabzon, its technical condition is deemed normal, and equipment [snaryazheniye] from it has been transferred to the IL-76. At 1729 hours yesterday the MiG-29 took off from Trabzon for its home airfield.

[As part of its coverage of the incident Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 22 May publishes on page 4 of its Morning Edition the following comment made to a correspondent of the paper by Colonel General of Aviation V. Pankin, chief of the Air Force Main Staff: "The aircraft was taken by Captain Aleksandr Mikhailovich Zuyev, military airman first class, born 1961, a Russian, and a married man. From 1985 his position was that of senior airman, and in 1986 he received the rank of captain. In April 1989 he was taken off flying duties for health reasons.

"On 20 May he offered poisoned cake to the 7-man guard unit and waited until they fell asleep. He cut all telephone links with the guard unit. He went up to a sentry and punched him in the face. Then he pulled out a pistol and started shooting. The sentry got him to drop the pistol, and a fight broke out. Zuyev managed to get hold of the weapon and again started shooting at the sentry, who received four wounds. (He is now in the hospital in a satisfactory condition). After the shooting Zuyev ran across the tarmac to the aircraft. The sentry fired a submachinegun at him. According to preliminary information, he was wounded in the head and arm. Then the sentry got to the guard unit, but meanwhile the aircraft had taken off..."

'Foreign' Agencies Cited on Asylum

LD2005192989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1830 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] You probably already know from reports on All-Union radio and news bulletins on television about the hijacking of a fighter plane to Turkey by a certain Zuyev, a military pilot, who was discharged from flying duties on health grounds. Anyway, let me remind you that Zuyev took possession of the fighter following an attack on a sentry who was guarding it. The sentry was wounded by a firearm fired by Zuyev.

Reports from foreign news agencies throw more light on this story. It has become clear that after landing at an airfield in the town of Trabzon, Zuyev addressed the Turkish representatives in two languages, Turkish and English, one after the other. Evidently this is an indication supporting the presumption that the hijacking of the plane was not impromptu, but a planned crime which Zuyev prepared for, including at a linguistic level. The fighter which he flew to Turkey is a modern combat machine, a Mig-29, which the Turkish side has agreed to return. If we go by the news agencies, Zuyev has been granted political asylum. At present, he is in a hospital in Trabzon with bullet wounds in his arm and head.

Turkey Agrees To Return Mig

LD2105185689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] To conclude, details about the hijacking of a Soviet jet plane to Turkey: As has been reported, on 20 May, Zuyev, a military pilot who has been discharged from flying duties, hijacked a Mig-29 fighter plane from Tikhakaya airfield in western Georgia to Trabzon, on the Black Sea coast of Turkey. According to available information, immediately after landing, he applied for medical assistance and is presently in a Trabzon clinic. As a result of energetic action by the USSR Foreign Ministry, an accord was reached with the Turkish side on the return of the Soviet plane and permission was received for a flight to Trabzon by an IL-76 transport plane. Today, this airliner landed there. Soviet representatives arrived in the Turkish town and inspected the

Mig-29 fighter. The technical state of the plane has been acknowledged to be normal, and today the Mig-29 took off at 1729 from Trabzon for its own airfield.

Moscow Arrival of Turkish Army Official Reported

PM1905102989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 19 May 89 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Meeting in the USSR Defense Ministry"]

[Excerpt] Army General K. Yazgan, first deputy chief of the Turkish Armed Forces General Staff, arrived 17 May in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of Colonel General B.A. Omelichev, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff.

Col Gen B.A. Omelichev and other generals and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces met the guest at Sheremetyevo airport.

V. Vural, Turkish ambassador to the USSR, was among the welcoming party. [passage omitted]

Soviet Troops Pay Unprecedented Visit to FRG

LD1905093489 Moscow TASS in English 0824 GMT
19 May 89

[Text] Munich, May 19 TASS—Under the Soviet-West German accord, a group of ten Soviet servicemen—sergeants, officers and men—arrived in West Germany. During a week-long tour of West Germany, they will visit Bundeswehr units, meet West German servicemen, the public and journalists, will be received by Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker, and ministers-presidents of Bavaria, Baden-Wuerttemberg, and North Rhine-Westphalia.

This trip, which was sponsored by the influential West German DIE WELT newspaper, is the first of its kind in the history of relations between the Soviet Union and West Germany, the Soviet Army and the Bundeswehr. It is a concrete result of the assertion of new political thinking in inter-state relations, the favourably developing Soviet-West German relations, and contacts which are being formed in the military field.

Reporting about the programme of the stay of Soviet servicemen in West Germany, the newspaper today points out that this trip will be held in the run-up to the visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to the Federal Republic.

One can say with every reason that the work of the stay of Soviet servicemen in West Germany, their meetings and talks in Bundeswehr barracks and offices of political leaders will become a remarkable specific step, though a small one, toward developing relations between the two countries.

Presence Breaks 'Ice of Mistrust'

LD2005135589 Moscow TASS in English 1331 GMT
20 May 89

[Text] Munich May 20 TASS—By TASS Correspondents Lev Volnukhin and Yevgeniy Gulkina:

"Soviet Army in Bavaria", "Russian military men land in Munich"—Bavarian newspapers, radio and television compete in sensational news coverage.

The culprits of the fuss are a group of Soviet servicemen who began a week-long tour of West Germany. It was organized by the influential West German newspaper DIE WELT and the Soviet Novosti Press Agency (APN). In the group are active duty soldiers, cadets of military educational establishments and officers of the Moscow military district.

"This is an unprecedented event in the history of relations between the USSR and West Germany", Herold Tandler, finance minister of Bavaria, said at a reception in the residence of the Bavarian government. "It became possible thanks to the perestroika policy and new political thinking in the Soviet Union. The Soviet servicemen's tour of West Germany is one more proof that relations between the two countries have acquired a new quality," he stressed.

Residents of Munich could hardly believe their eyes when they saw a group of Soviet military men in full uniform and regalia in the city garden on the sunny May day. "Can we take your photo?" "Certainly". Pictures of smiling Soviet soldiers, who "at the request of the audience" raised large glasses of beer, will beautify family photo albums. A crowd of curious persons is growing around the group, a lively talk begins, interpreters work by the sweat of their brow.

"I saw Soviet soldiers for the last time during the war and, certainly, was afraid of them," says Frederike Winter. "Now I think that it is very good that they are here". "Splendid," another visitor of the city garden smiles. "The Soviet Army conquers Munich by charm rather than weapons". "Things may be heading to joint manoeuvres with the Bundeswehr", an elderly burgher grumbles.

Our military youth repulsed with honour an attack by the local press—journalists outnumbered the guests at least five-fold. The latter answered a barrage of most diverse questions, including those with implication. Someone left disappointed—a cheap politically-tinged sensation perished.

The "peace offensive" of the Soviet Army is being mounted. By their smiles, goodwill, and openness young soldiers and cadets are breaking the ice of mistrust before West Germans' eyes. Bavarians become convinced themselves that these are not robots in uniform

and not parts of a heartless military machine as they were portrayed in the West for a long time. These ordinary Soviet young men want to live in peace just like all people in the world.

Even the first days of the tour show that it proceeds successfully, having become one more form of people's diplomacy which helps build bridges of mutual understanding and trust.

Spaeth Receives Army Delegation

LD2205111489 Moscow TASS in English 1055 GMT
22 May 89

[Text] Stuttgart May 22 TASS—By TASS correspondents Lev Volnukhin and Yevgeniy Gulkina:

Soldiers in Soviet Army uniforms at the government residence in Baden-Wuerttemberg have never been seen at the Reitzenstein Villa. The group of Soviet servicemen, on a tour of the Federal Republic of Germany, organized by the West German newspaper DIE WELT and the Soviet NOVOSTI Press Agency (APN), was received by the minister-president of the government of this federal land, deputy chairman of the Christian-Democratic Union, Lothar Spaeth.

The new Soviet policy, he told the delegation, receives wide support in the FRG. "Our people share the striving to live in peace with the lowest amount of weapons, in the atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding." The visit by the group of Soviet servicemen is one of the examples of how this process develops. Until quite recently one could not imagine that Soviet Army soldiers and officers will visit Stuttgart. This fact, the minister-president said, has great significance because it is one thing when an ordinary German sees the signing of a treaty on peace, friendship and disarmament on TV and quite another when he meets the envoy of the Soviet people, the Soviet Army, and can touch him with his hand and see that the treaties yield fruit: Relations between our countries are really developing and trust is growing.

Lothar Spaeth stressed the need to expand contacts between people, including exchanges between young people. "We want as many Soviet schoolchildren and students as possible to visit the Federal Republic, while their West German coevals make trips to the Soviet Union. Back home, they will say: No we don't believe that these people are threatening us and want to attack our country."

The trip by the Soviet servicemen, the head of the government of Baden-Wuerttemberg said, acquires special significance on the eve of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the FRG. The problem of youth exchanges is one of the issues which will be discussed during the Soviet guest's visit to the Federal Republic. Lothar Spaeth expressed hope that the youth exchanges between the USSR and the FRG would expand in future, that the

group of Soviet servicemen would make the first step towards developing contacts between representatives of the armed forces of the two countries.

Then the delegation was shown around the government's residence and Estonian soldier Andres Valkna sat in the minister-president's chair. "What would I do, if I were a politician?" the confused soldier queries. "I would do everything possible to enable people to live in peace."

Genscher Welcomes Gorbachev's Forthcoming Visit
LD1905085589 Moscow TASS in English 2243 GMT
18 May 89

[Text] Bonn May 19 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to the FRG will open new prospects in Soviet-West German relations which are of cardinal importance for the East-West dialogue as a whole. FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said this in an interview to Deutsche Welle on Thursday.

The minister said the FRG builds its relations with the Soviet Union, proceeding from membership in the European Economic Community and NATO. Therefore the Federal Government welcomes the fact that Bonn's allies are now also striving to improve relations with the USSR, to which the recent visit to Moscow by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker attests.

Touching upon the coming session of the NATO Council at the level of heads of state and government, Genscher expressed the hope that it will adopt the common concept of the alliance on questions of arms control and disarmament. In this connection he pointed to large-scale proposals of the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty organization aimed at the reduction of conventional armaments, elimination of asymmetries in the area, depriving the military political alliances of the capabilities for a surprise attack. He said these proposals are in keeping with the notions the West had over a long time about creating balance in Europe in the area of conventional armaments.

Yarov, Spanish Counterpart Hold Talks 20 May
PM2205093189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 21 May 89 First Edition p. 1

[Unattributed report: "On Official Visit"]

[Text] Spanish Defense Minister N. Serra arrived in the Soviet Union 19 May on an official visit at the invitation of Army General D.T. Yarov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister.

At Sheremetyevo airport the guest and those accompanying him were met by Army General D.T. Yarov, Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of general staff of the

USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister, USSR Deputy Defense Ministers Army General V.I. Varennikov and Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, and other officials.

J. Cuenca, Spanish ambassador to the USSR, was among the welcoming party.

The state flags of Spain and the Soviet Union were raised at the airport, a guard of honor was drawn up on the runway, and the state anthems of the two countries were played.

On 20 May Army General D.T. Yarov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, received Spanish Defense Minister N. Serra, who is in our country on an official visit. During the talk which took place there was an examination of problems of the development of confidence-building measures in the military field and questions of the consolidation of international security.

The following took part in the talk: on the Soviet side—Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of general staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister, Army General V.I. Varennikov, USSR deputy defense minister, Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, and other officials, on the Spanish side—J. Cuenca, Spanish ambassador to the USSR, and the people accompanying the Spanish defense minister.

The guest from Spain laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier at the Kremlin wall.

On the same day N. Serra visited the USSR Armed Forces General Staff K.Ye. Voroshilov Military Academy. He was acquainted with its material training base and the organization of the training process and met with the academy's professorial and teaching staff and students.

Army General D.T. Yarov gave a dinner in N. Serra's honor.

Serra Arrival at Airport Described

LD2005084789 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish
0700 GMT 20 May 89

[Excerpt] Defense Minister Narciso Serra is now in the Soviet Union on a 5-day visit which will enable the two countries to exchange views on their respective defense policies. Last night the Spanish defense minister was met at Moscow airport by his Soviet opposite number to the strains of the two national anthems. A report on this from our correspondent in the Soviet capital, Angel Garcia:

[Garcia] These are the national anthems of two countries which belong to different military blocs. The occasion is the arrival of Narciso Serra at Moscow airport and the review of the honor guard during the official reception

ceremony. Narciso Serra was met by his Soviet counterpart, General Dmitry Yazov, with whom he will today begin the first round of talks on disarmament. He will be doing so at a time when U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has just been to Moscow and when relations between the Soviet Union and Spain present no difficulties according to statements by General Yazov.

[Begin Yazov recording in Russian fading into correspondent's Spanish] Yazov believes that relations are good. There are no disputes between the two countries. The first contact is being made and warmer relations of trust will be established between the armed forces. There will be invitations for visits by general staff officers and it is also likely that visits will be paid by ships from, for example, Leningrad to a Spanish port. As regards a visit by him to Spain, he says that up to now they have not invited him. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Serra's Itinerary Outlined

LD1905180289 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT
19 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS—Spanish Defence Minister Narciso Serra arrived in the Soviet Union for an official visit at the invitation of Soviet Defence Minister Army General Dmitry Yazov this evening.

At Sheremetyevo Airport he was met by Army General Yazov and other officials. Spanish Ambassador in the Soviet Union Jose Cuernca was among the welcoming party.

The Spanish guest will meet Soviet Army leaders, visit the Military Academy of the general staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, which trains officers and generals of the Soviet and allied armies. The Spanish defence minister is expected to speak to the academy students.

Narciso Serra is to attend a tactical exercise of a motorized rifle division unit during his visit.

The Spanish defence minister will see places of interest in Moscow and visit the Trinity-St.Sergius Lavra in Zagorsk and make a brief trip to Leningrad.

At the airport Narciso Serra told TASS he was glad to pay his first visit to the Soviet Union. He expressed confidence that personal contacts between military leaders played no lesser role in attaining mutual understanding than major international forums. Personal contacts are exceedingly useful, he believes.

Military leaders' goodwill missions should be marked with mutual desire to understand the other side's viewpoint.

Narciso Serra expressed the hope that the results of his visit would be favourable.

Defense Attache Exchange Discussed

LD2005151589 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish
1400 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Spanish Defence Minister Narciso Serra is now in Moscow on an official visit. A report on this from our correspondent in the Soviet capital, Angel Garcia.

[Garcia] This morning, during the course of a lecture delivered at the military academy of the armed forces general staff, where the generals of the armed services of the USSR and its allies further their studies, Narciso Serra expressed the intention of exchanging military attaches with the Soviet Union. In his address the minister gave an analysis of the political evolution of Spain's defense and said that the objective is to have a smaller army, but one which is in line with those of the western countries. In the field of short-range nuclear systems the minister stressed the advantage in favor of the Warsaw Pact.

'Main Aim' of Visit Achieved

LD2005114389 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1105 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 20 May (TASS)—Spain's defense minister, Narciso Serra y Serra, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit, met today with USSR Defense Minister Army General Dmitry Yazov. A conversation took place in the course of which questions of mutual interest were broached.

"The main aim of my visit to Moscow has been achieved, Serra told a TASS correspondent after the conversation. A dialogue has taken place with my Soviet colleague, General Yazov, on matters of security and strengthening confidence-building measures." As the guest from Spain stated, he has familiarized himself with USSR's defense structures, and has been able to exchange views on the need to continue the search for decisions on the question of the balance of forces between East and West at a lower arms level.

His visit to the USSR has afforded him a suitable opportunity for an exchange of views on the evolution of the policies of the USSR and Spain in the past few years, the guest from Spain believes. "The main thing is that we agree to take new steps aimed at strengthening peace and security in Europe," Serra noted.

The guest from Spain visited the military academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, where he acquainted himself with the organization of the learning process of this military institution of learning. The defense minister addressed the academy's students and teachers.

On the same day Narciso Serra laid a wreath at the unknown soldier's tomb near the Kremlin Wall.

Spanish Communist Delegation Pays USSR Visit
LD2205123589 Moscow TASS in English 1223 GMT
22 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—A delegation of the Communist Party of Spain led by Francisco Riancho Marin, member of the Political Commission of the Spanish Communist Party, visited the Soviet Union on May 13-21 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

The Spanish Communists, who studied the experience of the CPSU activities in perestroika conditions, were received at the party construction and personnel department of the CPSU Central Committee, at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia and the republican trade union council, had meetings and talks with Soviet sociologists, with working people at industrial and agricultural enterprises.

The Spanish Communists, the delegation noted, welcome perestroika in the USSR and wish great success in its implementation.

Spain Awards Gorbachev Cooperation Prize
LD1905113489 Moscow TASS in English 1129 GMT
19 May 89

[Text] Madrid May 19 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, has been awarded the International Cooperation Prize of the Crown Prince of Asturias.

This honorary trophy is ranked among the most prestigious international prizes, instituted in Spain. Its award to Mikhail Gorbachev was decided by the trophy's jury and announced today in the Spanish town of Oviedo.

The international cooperation prize is adjudged annually to two leaders of an international standing. The second awardee is Jacques Delors, president of the EEC European Community's Commission.

Pope Receives Soviet Officials in Vatican
PM1605151189 Moscow PR4VDA in Russian
15 May 89 Second Edition p.3

[TASS report: "Talks at the Vatican"]

[Text] Rome, 14 May—Pope John Paul II, head of the Roman Catholic church, today received in the Vatican a delegation from the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries (SSOD) and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) comprising M.M. Vladimir, deputy chairman of the SSOD Presidium, V.M. Davyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Paps, CPSU Delegation End Visit to Finland
LD2205021689 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1512 GMT 19 May 89

[For further reportage on the CPSU delegation's visit to Finland, see the 14 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p.44]

[Text] Helsinki, 19 May (TASS)—The visit to Finland by the CPSU delegation headed by B.K. Paps, member of CPSU Central Committee and chairman of its Party Control Committee, at the invitation of the Finnish Center Party, has ended.

The delegation visited Helsinki and a number of regions in Finland, where it got to know the work of the Finnish Center and visited industrial and agricultural installations. Conversations took place with the leadership of the Finnish Center Party in which P. Vayrynen, chairman of the party, S. Kaariainen, party secretary, M. Immonen, chairman of the party's Foreign Policy Commission, K. Juhantalo, chairman of the parliamentary group, and other members of leading party bodies, took part.

During the conversations which passed off in a friendly atmosphere, the CPSU delegation gave the Finnish party an account of the important areas of CPSU work relating to the renewal of Soviet society and briefed them in detail about the results of the March and April (1989) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the progress of preparations for the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and the drawing up of a program to harmonize interethnic relations in the Soviet state.

The leaders of the Finnish Center Party briefed the CPSU delegation on topical matters relating to the work of their party in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy. Alongside this, it was noted that the Finnish Center welcomed the foreign policy course of the CPSU based on new thinking and the efforts that the Soviet Union is making toward improving the international situation and affirming the principles of a nuclear-free and non-violent world on our planet. For its part, the CPSU delegation noted the useful work in the area of strengthening peace and cooperation between peoples which the Finnish Center Party is pursuing, as it invariably follows the line of its leader for many years, the outstanding Finnish statesman Urho Kekkonen.

Great attention was devoted in the conversations to the problems of building a common European home, environmental protection, particularly on the basis of M.S. Gorbachev's Marmorsk initiatives, and to the further development of Soviet-Finnish relations, which are to a great extent a prototype for future peace.

The Finnish Center leadership spoke in favor of Finland's adherence to the "Paasikivi-Kekkonen" line, the basis of which is the country's desire for friendly relations with the Soviet Union, and in favor of conducting a peace-loving neutral policy in international affairs.

The representatives of the CPSU and the Finnish Center expressed their resolve to continue promoting the expansion and further deepening of relations of trust and goodneighborliness between the Soviet Union and Finland in accordance with the long-term landmarks determined by the 1948 Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance.

Both sides were unanimous that the official visit to Finland this coming autumn by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and his talks with Finnish President M. Kaivola, will promote the transfer of the whole complex of Soviet-Finnish cooperation to a qualitatively new level in keeping with the demands of the present day.

Satisfaction was expressed with the successful development of links between the CPSU and the Finnish Center, the 15th anniversary of the setting up of which is being marked this year, as was the mutual interest in deepening them further.

Finnish President Mauno Koivisto received the head of the CPSU delegation today. During the conversation, which passed off in a warm and friendly atmosphere, there was a discussion of the state of and prospects for the development of bilateral relations between the USSR and Finland in various spheres.

On the same day, the head of the CPSU delegation gave a press conference at which he gave an account of restructuring in the Soviet Union and answered journalists' questions.

In the evening, the CPSU delegation departed for home. It was seen off at the international airport in the Finnish capital by P. Vayrynen and other officials.

Among the send-off party was B.I. Aronov, USSR ambassador to Finland.

Latin America & Caribbean

Chebrikov Receives Visiting Sandinista Leader Borge
LD170514Z489 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT
17 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—Viktor Chebrikov, a Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, today received Tomas Borge Martinez, member of the national leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, now paying a working visit to the USSR.

During the talk that passed in a friendly atmosphere, they exchanged views on issues of mutual interest.

Borge Gives Moscow News Conference
LD190522Z889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1730 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] A news conference given by Tomas Borge, member of the Sandinista leadership and Nicaraguan interior minister, took place at the Press Center of the USSR Foreign Ministry for Soviet and foreign journalists. With regard to the present situation in the country, he said, in particular:

[Borge Borge recording in Spanish with superimposed Russian translation] Since the Salvador agreements the number of armed clashes has decreased although the danger of conflicts has not diminished, since the counter-revolutionaries who are suffering defeat on the field of battle still have enormous forces, which are situated on the territory of Honduras. There are about 7,000 counter-revolutionaries stationed in camps located in the proximity of our borders in Honduras. There are still about 1,500-2,000 persons in our country, who are avoiding clashes but who are resorting to various acts of sabotage.

One must say that all these actions contravene the agreements that were reached in Salvador and which make provision for the demobilization and elimination of all counter-revolutionary bases within 90 days. As is well known, these agreements were boycotted by the U.S. Administration, which took the decision to finance the counter-revolution further. That is, at variance with the desires of the countries of Latin America, the U.S. Government took a different decision.

In our country there are 23 political parties which are actively taking part in the reelection campaign which is taking place in Nicaragua now. Three further parties have been legalized including the party of Alfonso Robles, who was, in his time, linked with the counter-revolution. Fulfilling the agreements adopted in Salvador, Nicaragua has freed a large number of guardsmen who were in prison, and carried out a whole range of democratic reforms directed at creating even better conditions for freedom of speech in the country. In this way, we were the first and the most decisive as far as carrying out the Salvador agreements is concerned. However, at a time when Nicaragua is creating the conditions for holding a reelection campaign in absolutely free conditions, we already see that propaganda is being carried on more and more actively to convince the world that Nicaragua is allegedly intending to carry out a fraud. I think that in this regard the propaganda campaign that has recently been unfolded against Panama is a clear example of the sort which now to a considerably greater degree applies to the elections in Nicaragua. We think that it is, of course, difficult to deceive international public opinion, all the more so, since we have invited international observers to the elections. We have taken

this step quite consciously to demonstrate that the Nicaraguan people has an absolutely clear opinion in favor of its revolution and in favor of the avantgarde of this revolution, the Sandinista front. [end recording]

Discusses U.S., Soviet Policies

LD1005004289 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1609 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 19 May (TASS)—After the conclusion of the Salvadoran agreement on Nicaragua, and after strong blows were delivered against contra groups, the number of armed clashes with them has dropped, but the danger of attack remains. Tomas Borge, member of the national leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), and Nicaragua's internal affairs minister, declared at a press conference here today. He is in the USSR on a working visit.

He emphasized that Nicaragua has moved more quickly and further than others in fulfilling the points of the agreement. In the republic, in particular, freedom of speech has been guaranteed, 2,000 former Somoza guardsmen have been released from their places of confinement, and the activities of opposition parties—there are now more than 20 of them in the country—has been permitted. In spite of this, the contras are keeping up to 7,000 soldiers on the territory of Honduras. Apart from that, in Nicaragua itself and in violation of the agreement, some 2,000 contras are operating who do not go for open clashes with the armed forces, but set up ambushes and carry out acts of sabotage and terrorist attacks on civilian facilities. Thus, he said, the contras have not been demobilized and are enjoying support of the United States of America, which openly boycotted the agreement in El Salvador.

Tomas Borge paid particular attention to Nicaragua's relations with the Soviet Union, which he described as exemplary. "The USSR, being one of the great powers, has always treated Nicaragua from a position of equality, friendship, and respect for its interests," he said. "We are totally satisfied with the state of bilateral relations between our countries."

The minister called the U.S. policy toward the countries of the subregion "crude interference in their internal affairs," emphasizing in particular that Washington currently is using Panama as a kind of laboratory or testing ground for practicing its anti-Nicaraguan designs. He rejected claims by both the previous and present U.S. Administrations that Nicaragua allegedly was a center for subversive work in Central America and a source of danger to the United States. "We are striving for peace in Central America," the minister said. "We have made a solemn promise to hold a truly free and open election in the country. We intend to defend our free and sovereign homeland."

Borge Grants Interview

LD1005222789 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 19 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Tomas Borge, member of the national leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, Nicaragua's interior minister, is in our country on a visit.

[V. Belitskiy identified by screen caption] Tomas Borge gave a news conference at the Press Center of the USSR Foreign Ministry. In his short statement he stressed that the aim of his visit, the establishment of broader contacts with his colleagues, has been fulfilled. Answering journalists' questions, Tomas Borge dwelt in detail on the situation in Nicaragua and the situation in the region.

After the news conference he gave an interview to the "Vremya" program. [video shows press conference, then cuts to Borge with unidentified correspondent talking together in a hall]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Tell me, how do you think the process of a peaceful settlement in Central America is going?

[Borge speaking in Spanish with superimposed Russian translation] This process is gradually moving forward despite serious opposition to it from the U.S. Government. In fact the policy of the Bush administration here is practically the same as the line followed by Reagan, although at this stage there are no direct acts such as characterized the policy of the former U.S. President regarding this region. We are certainly optimistic as far as the prospects are concerned, especially when talks are taking place.

[Correspondent] What are the main tasks of the Sandinista revolution now?

[Borge] The main aim is to maintain its gains. At this new stage we intend to pay most attention to solving the difficult economic problems facing us, and we shall try using all possible means to improve the situation of our people, and to contribute to the development of the economy. So, the defense of the homeland and the development of the economy are the fundamental tasks of our revolution.

A model relationship exists between our countries. It is based on a profound mutual respect. The Soviet Government always stresses this respect for us, unlike the U.S. Government. The Soviet people manifests a lofty awareness and internationalism, since it has a profound understanding of the nature of our struggle. We feel profound gratitude for this remarkable solidarity on the part of the Soviet Government and people with Nicaragua and its revolution. [end recording]

Nicaraguan Minister on Panamanian Situation
*LD2105220689 Moscow TASS in English 2058 GMT
21 May 89*

[Text] Managua May 22 TASS—The resolution adopted at the special session of the Organization of American States [OAS] became an important step toward the resolution of the crisis in Panama, Nicaraguan Deputy Foreign Minister Victor Hugo Tinoco said at the Managua airport in a brief interview for the press upon his arrival from Washington. He pointed out the special importance of the non-intervention principle proclaimed by the Latin American forum.

It means that neither the United States nor any other country may intervene in the internal affairs of a sovereign state, Panama in this case, and the Panamanian people are granted the right to decide their destiny on their own, Tinoco stressed.

The international commission created at the session is presently due to leave for Panama for meetings and discussions with different politicians of the ways to resolve the explosive situation which arose after the election.

At the next session of the OAS commission scheduled for June 6, its members will submit proposals for a possible peaceful settlement of the Panamanian crisis, he added.

The resolution on the political settlement of the Panamanian dispute was adopted by the majority with the exception of the United States. Washington abstained, reserving the right to dictate its will to Latin American nations which can eventually result in an armed aggression [words indistinct], the Nicaraguan diplomat warned.

USSR-Honduras Trade Agreement Ratified
*PM1605151389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 May 89 Morning Edition p. 4*

[TASS report: "Agreement Ratified"]

[Text] The Honduras National Assembly (unicameral parliament) has ratified the intergovernmental trade agreement between the USSR and Honduras signed 24 August 1987. It provides in particular for the sides' reciprocal granting of most favored nation status in trade and shipping.

Announcing the Honduran Government's ratification of the agreement, PRENSA LATINA notes that in the opinion of representatives of the Honduran Ministry of Economy and Commerce the establishment of trade relations with the USSR is advantageous to this Central American country. Honduras, the agency writes, will acquire the opportunity to increase foreign deliveries of traditional export goods whose prices on the world market are now tending to drop.

Political & Social

Commission Investigating Ivanov, Gdlyan Reports LDI905200189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1730 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 19 May (TASS)—As the press has already reported, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has instructed a special commission composed of USSR people's deputies, prominent legal scholars, and representatives of the law enforcement bodies to check numerous statements and complaints about serious infringements of legality by USSR Procurator investigators Telman Gdlyan and Nikolay Ivanov in their investigatory activities.

Here follows the text of the commission's conclusion on this matter.

In accordance with its instructions, the commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has examined documents presented by the USSR Procurator, the USSR KGB, and the USSR Supreme Court with regard to checking complaints about infringements of legality during the investigation of criminal cases in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) by a team of investigators headed by Gdlyan, a senior investigator for particularly important cases attached to the USSR Procurator General. During the commission's work, conversations were held with a number of investigators from that team, with supervising procurators, with Gdlyan, and with other senior workers in the law enforcement bodies.

In 1983 the Uzbek SSR KGB initiated criminal proceedings against Muzafarov, head of the Bukhara Oblast Executive Committee department for combating theft of socialist property, who was caught red-handed receiving bribes. In September 1983, the case was handed over for further investigation to the USSR Procurator, where an investigation group was set up under Gdlyan. At various times more than 200 people worked in that group. In just over 5 years it brought criminal charges against 70 people in connection with cases investigated in Uzbekistan. Nineteen cases were referred to the courts, and 40 people were sentenced.

While the investigation group was at work, complaints and statements from citizens began to arrive in the central party and soviet bodies with regard to infringements of legality while conducting investigatory activities. The number of complaints has grown substantially of late.

In the documents and citizens' letters and complaints, including reports by investigators and procurator workers, it is claimed that striving artificially to widen the range of senior officials accused of corruption, Gdlyan and the investigators under his influence in recent years embarked on a course of mass violations of the norms of socialist legality. It is reported that they widely propagated the flawed practice of wholesale accusations of

bribe-taking and compelling suspects and witnesses to give so-called "avowing" [priznaniy] testimony obtained by means of unjustified arrests, blackmail, and intimidation, without duly elaborating the circumstances of what had been committed.

According to material of the USSR KGB, Gdlyan, Ivanov, and the investigators close to them frequently insulted detainees, behaved in a way that was degrading to their human dignity, and intimidated them with threats that they would be shot. The material says that it was persistently suggested to those under investigation that they could only escape the supreme penalty and receive a minimum term of deprivation of liberty by admitting to the charges laid against them and testifying "against the top," that is, against senior officials of the republic and the country. It is asserted that a previously elaborated program of testimony, amounts of bribes, and a list of officials who had allegedly been given bribes were presented to those under investigation.

Information about such cases is contained not only in letters and complaints, but also in statements by citizens previously under investigation and now rehabilitated, in reports by O. Litvak, investigator for particularly important cases attached to the USSR Procurator General, and by all 11 investigators working in Gdlyan's group.

According to data from the USSR Procurator, many of the detainees subsequently renounced the false evidence that had been forced out of them. This was not entered, however, in the records relating to the investigation, and the investigators undertook urgent measures to restore their lost influence over the accused.

Thus on 14 July 1987, Orlov, who was being investigated, submitted two statements addressed to Rezkunov, the former USSR general procurator, and Soroka, his deputy. The statements said that Orlov had slandered Uzunkhodzhayev, Osetrov, and Ishkov. The following day he was summoned by Ivanov and vigorously interrogated for 6 hours. According to Orlov, he was promised that the restraining measure would be altered on his written undertaking not to abscond if he would keep to his previous testimony. It was also proposed that the statements, which had been dispatched the previous day but had not reached their destination, and which ended up with the investigator, should be torn up.

The report by the USSR Procurator's Office contains an allegation that unlawful pressure on the accused and witnesses frequently continued even after the case had been sent to court. Vafin, a member of the investigating group, would visit the locations where the convicted Alimov, Danov, Yuldashev, Salakhendinov, and others were being deprived of liberty, with a view to persuading them to corroborate in court the testimony given during the investigation exposing Yakhtayev and others, and promising to facilitate an easing of their punishment.

According to the report he provided Alimov with an opportunity to converse with Gdlyan on the telephone, who also asked him about this.

The convicted Sh. Rakhimov, in his explanation to the USSR Procurator's Office, made it clear that 2 days before the start of the trial of Churbanov and others he was summoned by investigator Ivanov, who informed him of an allegedly existing understanding with the judge on reducing Rakhimov's measure of punishment—but for this Ivanov asked Rakhimov to make a statement in court about the bribery of Kakhramanov and Karimov.

The inspection materials claim that the investigation of many criminal cases had been unjustifiably protracted in order to put pressure on those under investigation and for artificially creating "proof".

For this G. Mirzabayev has been kept in prison for more than 4 and 1/2 years under investigation; T. Umarov, R. Baitayev, and Ya. Illadi have been detained for more than 3 years, and T. Osetrov, G. Orlov, K. Kamalov, and others have been detained for more than 2 years.

According to data of the USSR Supreme Court, certain people who had been arrested were detained for long periods without being interrogated, with the object of putting them under psychological pressure. Thus, Kakhramanov, who was acquitted by the military collegium in the Churbanov case, had repeated intervals in interrogations lasting more than 4 months. Witness Durov testified to giving bribes to Kakhramanov nearly a year after his arrest. In the court he stated that during this period he had been required to slander Kakhramanov and he had been forced to do so. Umarov, who had been kept in custody for nearly 2 years, testified to numerous instances of receiving and giving bribes. After being released he denied what had been said, as a result of which he was rearrested and presented with his former evidence. In view of the inconsistency of Umarov's evidence, which was in contradiction of objectively established facts, and taking into account the conditions under which it had been obtained, the court did not admit it as proof of Churbanov's guilt.

The information obtained from the USSR Procuracy contains a statement that Gdlyan displayed a disregard for legitimacy, particularly during the investigation of the case with regard to G. Mirzabayev, former chairman of the board of the Bukhara oblast consumer cooperative union, who has been in custody for about 5 years. The investigation of this case was virtually completed as long ago as the middle of 1986, but it has not yet been sent to court.

The material of the USSR Procuracy states that, in order to exert psychological pressure on persons under investigation, the practice of taking their relatives into custody was widely used. In the case of Karimov, a former secretary of the Bukhara oblast party committee, 16 of his relatives were arrested, for periods from 5 to 8

months. Similar actions were committed with regard to the relatives of Usmanikhodzhaev, Musakhanov, Kamalov, and others. Criminal proceedings concerning many of them were subsequently stopped for lack of corpus delicti. Some of them report instances of the use of (physical) and psychological force against them.

Statements from over 20 citizens assert that investigators from Gdlyan's group quite often committed illegal arrests. Mayanov, a resident of the city of Karshi, was held in custody without justification for 2 years and 4 months; R. Karimov for about 3 years, and N. Akhadova, when she was pregnant, for 20 days. Proceedings regarding those and many other persons were subsequently halted for lack of corpus delicti. Some of these citizens made statements to the USSR procuracy that testimony about bribe-taking by officials had been extorted from them by blackmail and force.

An interlocutory order from the Supreme Court of the Uzbek SSR asserts that, in striving to obtain "reliable" prosecution witnesses, investigators from Gdlyan's group unjustifiably discharged bribe-givers and intermediaries, as well as other persons who had committed serious crimes. This statement says in particular that in the investigation of criminal cases regarding leading officials of the interior affairs directorate of the Bukhara oblast executive committee, around 40 plunderers of socialist property and bribe-givers among trade officials and the staff of internal affairs bodies were not subjected to criminal prosecution, and a significant proportion of them remained in their posts. Criminal proceedings have been instituted by the Supreme Court of the Uzbek SSR regarding all these cases.

According to the USSR Procuracy, upon illegally dropping criminal charges against offenders the investigators in a number of cases failed to suggest to local party and local Soviet bodies that they be subjected to party or disciplinary measures. Furthermore, on learning that those individuals had been dismissed, they frequently made official requests to party bodies, asking them to render them assistance in finding employment.

After sentence had been pronounced against Sh. Kudratov, former head of the Bukhara city retail body, a group of embezzlers who had given him bribes but who had been illegally acquitted from criminal charges were dismissed from the retail system. Investigator Bonov of the investigation group then sent a letter to the Uzbek Communist Party Bukhara Oblast Committee, insisting that all 20 individuals concerned be provided with "work according to their skills".

The materials forwarded by the USSR Procuracy and the USSR Supreme Court contain information on flagrant deviations of the law by individual investigators from Gdlyan's group during searches at the homes of the defendants and their relatives, with the purpose of confiscating valuables and other property. The relevant procedural documents did not always enumerate the

valuables and objects confiscated, nor did they indicate their individual distinguishing marks, and money was often not counted. The valuables were not uncommonly inspected several days after they had been confiscated.

It is clear from the complaints and statements of a number of citizens (Usmanikhodzhaev, Karimov, Kamalov, and others) that on Gdlyan's instructions the personal money savings of suspects' relatives were confiscated.

There are statements by investigator B. Severtseva and others that when they objected about the methods used in conducting the investigation, which were illegal in the view of the investigators, they were removed from the investigating group.

The USSR Ministry of Justice and the USSR Supreme Court report states that Gdlyan and Ivanov, contrary to constitutional standards on the independence of the court and its being subject only to the law, intervened in an impermissible way in the judicial examination of the cases that they had investigated. In particular they tried to influence the presiding official on the case and the state prosecutor and witnesses in the case of Muzafarov considered by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court. Both of them were punished for the violation by the USSR Procurator General in February 1986. Despite this, Gdlyan and Ivanov continued to seek to influence the USSR Supreme Court during the examination of the case of Churhanov and others in 1988, and after sentence had been delivered they made offensive accusations, unsupported by evidence, against the USSR Supreme Court, making wide use of the mass information media for this.

Gdlyan and Ivanov described this verdict as "the crown of lawlessness" in an article entitled: "The investigation about the verdict" (NOVOYE VREMYA No 6 of 1989). Speaking in the Central House of the Actor on 12 February 1989, Ivanov stated: "I do not want to talk any more about this shameful verdict." Following Ivanov, Gdlyan described the verdict as a "moral crime," asking "how were these cowards able to sign this verdict which is criminal from a moral point of view?"

On 30 April Gdlyan stated that the rehabilitation of Khint by the Supreme Court was the result of a "deal between the Estonian nationalists and...the Moscow party bribe-takers."

Speaking on Leningrad television on 12 May 1989, Ivanov declared that Romanov figured in the criminal case, and "the figures of Politburo members Solomentsev and Ligachev and former USSR Supreme Court Chairman Tereshilov flashed into view" as well.

Accusations of this sort, unfounded as they are on any objective evidence, are a crass violation of the honor and dignity of the individual as protected by law.

The USSR Procurator reports that, in the course of recent months, Gdlyan and Ivanov had effectively withdrawn from the performance of their official duties. In 1989 Gdlyan has spent 3 days in Uzbekistan, and Ivanov has not spent a single day there. In connection with the fact that Gdlyan has started to ignore the instructions of the USSR Prosecutor General and his deputies, and has in essence withdrawn the investigation of criminal cases from procuratorial supervision, he has been removed from his position as head of the investigative group. It is now headed by Galkin, deputy chief of the investigation department of the USSR Procurator.

It is the common opinion of the central law enforcement departments that the above-indicated style of work by the Gdlyan and Ivanov group in the investigation of criminal cases, the accusatory bias that is characteristic of them, and the impermissible and at times provocative methods that they used to obtain evidence have made it necessary to hand down a verdict of acquittal with regard to Kakhramanov, to remit for further investigation the Yakhyayev case, and for a plenum of the USSR Supreme Court to rehabilitate posthumously the well-known Estonian scientist Khint, and have caused tangible harm to the cause of strengthening socialist legality.

During a conversation with the commission, Gdlyan stated that he and the group led by him had constantly been obstructed in solving matters concerning the prosecution of persons occupying high official positions. This had allegedly also served as the reason for his dismissal from the leadership of the investigating group and the establishment of a commission to check on its activity.

Acquaintance with the materials and conversations with officials of law enforcement bodies testify to the fact that the information contained in them regarding gross violations of socialist legality in the activity of the investigating group led by Gdlyan has serious foundations.

In connection with this it would be considered necessary:

—to instruct the USSR Procurator to organize a thorough inspection of all statements and reports of violations of legality by Gdlyan and Ivanov in their investigation of criminal cases, including the state of supervision by the procurator of the work of the investigating group. To step up work to investigate crimes by officials, thefts of socialist property, bribe-taking, and corruption. To guarantee fully, with regard to them, the principle of the inevitability of punishment and completion of investigation of criminal cases as quickly as possible, with strict observance of the law. To ensure the due supervision by the procurator, in order to avert violations of legality which have been committed.

—to investigate thoroughly all indications and reports regarding links of senior officials of central, party, and state bodies with criminal groups, and to inform the public and people's deputies of the results immediately.

The findings of the special commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium were signed by:

Yuriy Kalmykov, USSR people's deputy, faculty head at the Saratov Juridical Institute and doctor of juridical sciences; Dr. Khair Kerimov, USSR people's deputy, head of a faculty at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and doctor of juridical sciences; Vladimir Kudryavtsev, USSR people's deputy, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and academician; Valentina Semenko, USSR people's deputy, chairman of the Ivanovo Oblast Court; Albert Yakovlev, USSR people's deputy, sector head at the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences and doctor of juridical sciences; Aleksandr Sukharev, USSR people's deputy, USSR prosecutor general; Vadim Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs; Boris Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice; Vladimir Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR Committee of State Security; Sergey Gusev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, and V. Yakovlev, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Soviet State Construction and Legislation, doctor of juridical sciences.

Report Not 'Final Verdict'

PM2105140889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 89 Second Edition p. 3

[Article by USSR Minister of Justice V. Kravtsov: "Only Within the Framework of Legality: The Minister Explains"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The report "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium," published yesterday, prompted mixed reactions from readers, who request clarification of certain elements reflected in the report.

[Kravtsov] Soviet people's interest in cases concerning bribe-taking and corruption by certain high-ranking officials in the years of stagnation is due by no means to idle curiosity, but to the distress felt by all honest citizens for their fatherland and for our moral purity, and to the desire to cleanse society. And everyone who abused or abuses his official position for self-seeking purposes should suffer the severest punishment, but only within the framework of legality. After all, we have won through to the idea of a rule-of-law state at the cost of great suffering.

Here there is complete unity of views among citizens and the present leaders of law enforcement organs. It is not a question of who carries out the investigation, but of the whole legal mechanism ensuring the triumph of justice and truth. We must combat violations of the law by lawful means.

I will not enumerate every point, because they are set forth in yesterday's item "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium." I will stress, however, that everything there set forth is only a starting point for the commission's work. It cannot be regarded as some kind of "final verdict."

I repeat: There is no question of any final conclusions. As yet the study of all the facts is proceeding dynamically.

It is not ruled out that new facts will emerge. Nor, however, is it ruled out that some of the presently cited facts will fail to be confirmed.

So I cannot understand the assertions of certain people that yesterday's report (the object of which was to inform readers as widely as possible about the "Gdlyan situation") is some kind of political or legal verdict.

As one of the commission I have talked with T. Gdlyan, whom I know fairly well. At one time he worked under my leadership (and we promoted him). At that time he showed a fairly high degree of competence. I can understand his concern for the progress of a case that was conducted by a group he headed. But for precisely that reason I would like to know how it was that at some point this high degree of competence and professionalism gave way to, for example, instances of disrespect for the court, in conditions where a radical legal reform is in progress. Yes, an investigator has the right to take on the responsibility of informing representatives of the press about certain facts and naming certain names. But only if he has evidence that has been tested to the utmost. Otherwise (again, from the viewpoint of the rule-of-law state) this is a nonsense.

As for keeping people in prison conditions for years before their trial, it is not by any means a question of Gdlyan doing this of his own accord. The periods for which those under investigation were kept under guard were, naturally, extended by the USSR prosecutor general. Here everything was in accordance with established practice. It is another matter that, in the opinion of competent lawyers, the investigators dragged out the investigations longer than was justified. You will agree that it is not right to summon a person under investigation for interrogation only once in 4 months. It is this, and not people being detained arbitrarily in prison, that is reflected in the document published yesterday.

Study the list of members of the commission. There are USSR people's deputies recently elected in a truly democratic struggle. There are professional lawyers, many of whom have a world reputation. There are department leaders who were promoted in the course of restructuring, some of them only recently. So there is clearly no occasion to talk about any kind of bias on the part of the commission.

I repeat that the purpose of the commission's work is to provide the most accurate, scrupulously checked answers to questions raised in connection with citizens' complaints and appeals. And this should only be done within the framework of the law. Otherwise we have no guarantee against a return to the old ways, against what every honest person is fighting against today.

Kiselev Commentary on Report

LD2005230389 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 20 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We now have a commentary on the subject of legality, law and order, and individual dignity.

[Commentator Dmitry Kiselev, identified by caption] Today's papers carry the conclusion of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium special commission that looked into citizens' complaints about violations of the law by investigators Gdlyan and Ivanov. The commission is an extrajudicial body and matters pertaining to culpability can only be decided by a court in accordance with the law. It would be all the more out of place to pronounce any sentence now, since the presumption of innocence is not only a legal concept, but an ethical one as well.

We know that many valuables have been returned to the state thanks to the efforts of Gdlyan and Ivanov, but I think there are some things that are more precious than gold and diamonds—human dignity, the rights of the individual, and the law specifying the citizen's duties to the state and the state's duties to each of us. If somebody, even with good intentions and on behalf of the state, violates the law, he is thereby sowing the seeds of arbitrary rule. If he justifies this on the basis of the day's task, he is thereby attempting to legalize lawlessness. And lawlessness leaves the individual unprotected.

There were times when improper investigations—to put it mildly—cost our people too much, when to be suspected meant being sentenced. I am not trying to say that there were no spies then or that there is no corruption now. I would merely like us to agree that we must fight to create a law-governed state by honest and legal methods. This makes all the more intolerable unjustified arrests, cruelty, and threats of execution. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium commission's conclusion is preliminary, which explains the tone of its findings.

[Reads from official statement] The commission would find it necessary to instruct the USSR Procurator to organize a thorough check of all the statements; to step up its work to investigate bribery and corruption; and to thoroughly investigate all warnings concerning links between criminal groups and senior workers in the central party and state bodies.

People can be sure that the struggle against corruption continues. It will be a harsh and uncompromising one, but at the same time legal.

CPSU Interethnic Commission Debates NKAO Situation

LD1905191289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To Improve the Situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast"]

[Text] A session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission on Interethnic Relations took place on 19 May, chaired by N.I. Ryzhikov. The situation which recently has taken shape in and around Nagorno-Karabakh was discussed. Statements on this matter were given by A.I. Volskiy, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Special Administration Committee, and by A.R.Kh. Vezinov and S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretaries of the central committees of the communist parties of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

The commission noted that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 12 January 1989 "On the Introduction of a Special Form of Administration in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of Azerbaijan" created the objective preconditions for solving the oblast's sociopolitical, economic, and social issues.

During the first months of the special administration committee's work, implementation of the rights of the autonomous oblast has been strengthened and organizational and legal decisions aimed at extending the independence of the oblast and its switch to the principles of regional financial autonomy have been implemented consistently, with the stimulation of diverse contacts between the Armenian population of the NKAO and Armenia in the field of culture and education, with due consideration being given to the interests of the Azerbaijani population.

Considerable additional means have been allocated to the autonomous oblast in the difficult economic conditions which have come about in the country. State capital investment has been more than doubled in comparison with 1987 and quadrupled in comparison with 1988. The NKAO this year received a considerable quantity of grain for mixed feed production, wooden houses, and building and transportation equipment from the reserves of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Additional resources have also been made available by the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and the USSR Ministry of Finance. The USSR Ministry of Trade has added significantly to the market resources of the autonomous oblast, which has made it possible to sell nearly 20 percent more goods to the population. Between January and April there was some increase in industrial production and the assimilation of

central capital investment rose by 25 percent. A total of 6,700 square meters of housing have been commissioned through the use of state resources.

At the beginning of May, however, the positive trends in the public and economic life of the NKAO were interrupted by a strike in which certain strata of the population found themselves involved. Those taking part in the strike put forward a number of demands which merited careful consideration. Instead, the strike organizers chose a path of confrontation with the organs of authority and the NKAO Special Administration Committee. The situation began to deteriorate rapidly and went as far as interethnic clashes. In this connection, additional measures to tighten the curfew were required to ensure the security of the citizens.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission noted that using the strike path as a form of pressure on state and party bodies to resolve the Karabakh issue is absolutely pointless, does serious damage to the basic interests of the population, creates an explosive atmosphere, and whips up mistrust and ill-will in interethnic relations.

Against the background of the fraternal solidarity and mutual understanding of the peoples of our multinational state, which were manifested with particular force during the elimination of the tragic consequences of the Armenia earthquake, events in Nagorno-Karabakh mark a turn back toward the worst times of interethnic quarreling. This cannot be allowed to happen. The faith of the Armenian people, whether in Armenia or in Nagorno-Karabakh, in a viable future was supported by the hand of friendship extended by all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Surely they do not now want to reject this hand, giving in blindly to emotions and losing reason?

Whatever the extraneous features and mistakes of the past that have dominated people, the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh cannot be resolved by means of violence. Attempts to bring about a solution of that kind would lead inevitably to tragic consequences. A solution can only be found upon paths of mutual understanding and sensible compromises.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission stressed the need for the NKAO Special Administration Committee to fulfill consistently and insistently the obligations that have been given it to normalize the sociopolitical situation in the oblast, ensure law and order and the security of citizens, organize uninterrupted work by the enterprises, and satisfy the vital needs of the population. It has been deemed expedient to extend the authority of the special administration committee in the interests of more effectively accomplishing socioeconomic development, and uniting the working people upon an internationalist foundation.

Of course, this does not remove responsibility from the central committees of the communist parties of Azerbaijan and Armenia for improving the political and ideological atmosphere around Nagorno-Karabakh. Their most immediate task is to establish close working contacts with each other, to ensure cooperation in resolving the issues which are arising, and to oppose in a united front the anti-restructuring forces which are undermining the union of Soviet republics and any actions that provoke interethnic friction.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission drew the attention of the union and republican ministries and departments to the need to urgently examine questions put to them by the special administration committee. The Councils of Ministers of the Azerbaijan and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics were instructed to substantially increase their work to tackle the problem of citizens who have been forced to leave their permanent places of residence and who have found themselves on the territory of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Violations of the rights of local organs of power by any side whatever must be ruled out. In the present situation great responsibility is being given the mass information media of both republics and of the NKAO. They must not allow any inflammatory nationalist manifestations, remembering that their main task is to promote an improvement of the situation by all means. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission stressed especially that the efforts of all party, local soviet, and public organizations, of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia of the autonomous oblast must be aimed now at restoring the normal rhythm of life and at creating conditions which will make it possible to advance restructuring in the interests of the whole country and all Soviet society.

20 May Politburo Session Views PRC, U.S. Talks
LD2105171389 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 21 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast: "In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] On 20 May the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session examined questions connected with the conduct of the forthcoming plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which is to take place on 22 May.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo approved the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's official visit to the PRC, the talks and discussions with Chinese leaders, and meetings with representatives of the public and the working people of China which took place there. It was noted with great satisfaction that the Soviet-PRC summit was a landmark. It puts an end to the past and opens up a new stage in Soviet-PRC relations. The meeting of the USSR and the PRC leaders marked a normalization of interstate relations and reestablishment of relations between the CPSU and the CPC. An important result of the meeting was the agreement on new

principles of interstate and interparty relations, reflecting the sides' readiness to respect each other's sovereignty and independence, take account of both countries' interests, and develop their cooperation with all means at their disposal as equal partners and good neighbors. A unanimous understanding was reached that the normalization of Soviet-PRC relations was not directed against third countries and in no way damaged the USSR's and PRC's ties and cooperation with other states.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the PRC has shown that, in spite of decades of alienation, the peoples of both countries have retained their traditional feelings of friendship, liking, and deep respect for each other. The talks in Beijing have shown that the tasks of increasing significantly trade and economic, scientific and technical, and other relations, and applying efficient forms of cooperation, prompted by life itself, come to the forefront in the mutual relations of the two countries. Inexhaustible opportunities are also contained in exchanges between the Soviet and Chinese peoples in the spiritual field.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo deems it imperative that the appropriate Soviet departments and organizations view the implementation of the accords reached at the meeting as an important direction of their activity.

The great significance of both sides' agreement to take measures for reducing armed forces in the area of the Soviet-PRC border to a minimal level and to resolve fairly and rationally the border questions between the Soviet Union and China on the eastern and western parts of the border at the same time was noted.

Confidence was expressed that the Soviet-PRC normalization would have a beneficial influence not only on relations between the USSR and the PRC but also on the situation in the Asian-Pacific region and in the world as a whole, that it fits in organically with the current tendencies of world development, and that it would foster a transition in the international arena from confrontation to cooperation among states, a strengthening of trust and cooperation.

The meeting examined the results of Comrade Gorbachev's conversation and Comrade Shevardnadze's talks with U.S. Secretary of State Baker. The thorough exchange of views on the whole complex of Soviet-U.S. relations and topical international problems allows invigoration of the process of talks on disarmament and on securing stability and security in the world. Of fundamental importance are the major Soviet initiatives, advanced in the course of the conversation, in the key sphere of contemporary international relations—limiting and cutting armaments. Particular note was made of the significance of the concrete proposals which the Soviet Union has tabled at the Vienna talks on cutting conventional armed forces in Europe.

Particular topicality is acquired by the problem of tactical nuclear weapons, on the resolution of which directly depends the military-strategic and political situation not only in Europe but in the world as a whole. The decision of the Soviet leadership, announced during the U.S. secretary of state's visit, to cut tactical nuclear weapons by 500 units, deployed on the territory of the allied countries of the Warsaw Pact, is a serious step toward creating and consolidating a new military and political situation on the European continent. The constructive approach of the USSR to this area of the dialogue with the United States pursues the aim of achieving a decisive breakthrough in providing the armed forces of the countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO with purely defensive parameters, and of completing work on a treaty for a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons under the conditions of observing the ABM treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972.

The in-depth discussion of the problems of settling regional conflicts conducted at the meeting showed that, despite remaining differences in approaches and assessments, there are real possibilities for practical cooperation between the USSR and the United States in finding just solutions by political means. Note was made of the importance of the specific discussion during the talks of transnational problems, of the exchange of views on various aspects of Soviet-U.S. relations, and of the understandings reached on subsequent steps in developing a fruitful political dialogue between the USSR and the United States at all levels.

A report was heard on the results of Comrade Shevardnadze's working visit to the Federal Republic of Germany and of his conversations with Federal Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher, in the course of which prime attention was devoted to matters of preparing for the forthcoming visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the FRG. Confidence was expressed that the Soviet-West German summit would be filled with weighty content, and enable the positive tendencies in relations between both countries to be consolidated. Such a development of relations between the USSR and the FRG would be a substantial contribution to the construction of a new Europe, peace, and cooperation.

Central Committee Plenum Opens in Moscow 22 May
LD2005072489 Moscow World Service in English
0700 GMT 22 May 89

[Excerpt] The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party has opened a regular plenum in Moscow. It's participants are discussing issues related to the Congress of Peoples' Deputies opening on Thursday [25 May]. [passage omitted]

Preparations for Deputies Congress Under Way

Deputies Instructed on Registration
LD2005065789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0104 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] USSR people's deputies are informed that registration of deputies who have arrived for the congress is

to be conducted from 1000 to 1900 in the Georgiyevskiy Hall of the Great Kremlin Palace.

Congress Opening Scheduled

LD2205091189 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GMT
22 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—The Congress of People's Deputies will go into session at 10:00 [0600 GMT] on May 25 in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

Live TV Coverage for Congress

PM1905183089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 May 89 Morning Edition p 7

[Interview with E. Sagayalev, chief editor at the Central Television Main News Editorial Office, by IZVESTIYA correspondent F. Ivanov: "Congress of People's Deputies on Screen"—date and place not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] From 25 May, the opening day of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, Central Television's second all-union channel will be devoted to continuous live transmission of the sessions in the Kremlin.

IZVESTIYA's correspondent asked E. Sagayalev, chief editor at the Central Television Main News Editorial Office, to comment on this decision.

[Ivanov] Eduard Mikhaylovich, as far as we know, transmissions on this scale have not happened before in the history of Soviet television.

[Sagayalev] It is true that this is the first time such a decision has been taken. It was prompted by the enormous torrent of letters to television and the central organs of power from whole labor collectives and individual citizens. The same wishes were expressed by the majority of USSR people's deputies. Let me say that Central Television itself put forward a similar initiative a long time ago. We are glad the proposals were supported. Although we are, of course, aware of what difficult work lies ahead.

[Ivanov] How will the transmissions be carried out, technically?

[Sagayalev] From the very first moments of the congress, the second all-union channel will be devoted to transmitting the sessions. In addition, the most important events of the congress will be broadcast live on the first channel too. This also applies to the sittings of the first session of the newly elected USSR Supreme Soviet. Moreover we propose to transmit up-to-the-minute news bulletins under the rubric "At the USSR Congress of People's Deputies." Incidentally, for the 3 days prior to the start of the congress, the "Vremya" program will be followed immediately by a program "USSR People's Deputies Speak."

[Ivanov] Who will prepare these programs?

[Sagayalev] We are involving some 200 television journalists and technicians in this work. We have already formed 12 film crews which will make reports with the help of outside broadcast units, 4 of which will be stationed in the Kremlin and 1 at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center. Moreover we are equipping two special studios in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses and one here at Ostankino, and there will be a direct television link between them. From these the journalists will transmit topical interviews, reports, and commentaries directly onto the air. There will also be film crews working at the hotels where the deputies will be staying and at enterprises where they will meet with the capital's labor collectives.

[Ivanov] Will the congress sessions be broadcast abroad?

[Sagayalev] Of course. After all, many countries can receive the first all-union channel. Moreover, virtually all the major foreign television companies are accredited to the congress. I think they will also include live transmissions in their reports. The technical potential exists. And of course, Soviet television will make all our material available to them. We want the fullest possible information about the congress to be broadcast.

More on TV, Radio Scheduling

PM2105132089 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed answer to reader's question under the rubric "Dialogue: Ask Us Your Questions!": "Congress Live on the Air?"—first paragraph is reader's question]

[Text] Is television organizing direct transmission from the USSR Congress of People's Deputies? V. Vlasov, Sverdlovsk.

[Answer] The USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting has told TASS correspondents that by agreement with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the sittings [zasedaniya] of the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies and of the first session [sessiya] of the newly elected USSR Supreme Soviet will be relayed in full on Central Television's second channel and the "Mayak" radio channel.

A number of sittings of the congress and of the session will also be relayed on Central Television's first channel and on the first channel of All-Union Radio. Central Television will also make transmissions via the "Orbita" and "Vostok" space communications systems, and information will go to foreign countries, too.

So amend your television schedule for the week, and watch the congress on the second channel on 25, 26, and 27 May, from 0955 hours. In the breaks in the congress' work cinema and television movies and other programs will be shown.

TV Relay To Run From 0955 to 2015

PM2005172689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "Clarification to Television Schedule"]

[Text] Yesterday IZVESTIYA reported that the Congress of People's Deputies will be relayed live by the second all-union television channel. For technical reasons this change was not included in the schedule of television programs for next week. During the days that the congress is at work the relay will begin at 0955 and end at 2015. Cinema and television movies and other broadcasts will be screened during the breaks in the congress' work.

List of Deputies Elected Since 26 Mar

PM2105162189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

"List of USSR People's Deputies Elected Since 26 March 1989 in Territorial and National-Territorial Electoral Okrug Repeat Elections and Also From Social Organizations"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] Abdulguseyn, Mukail, team leader on the "Tabasaranskiy" State Farm [sovkhoz], Tabasaranskiy Rayon, CPSU member, Syrych Village, Tabasaranskiy Rayon, From Derbentskiy Territorial Okrug No 363, Dagestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR].

Abramyan, Derenik Nshanovich, head of the Pedagogical Psychology Problems Laboratory at the Armenian Pedagogical Institute, candidate CPSU member, Yerevan City, From the USSR Society of Friends of the Cinema.

Averintsev, Sergey Sergeyevich, chief of a sector at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Literature, Moscow City, From the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Arbatov, Georgiy Arkadyevich, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences United States and Canada Institute, CPSU member, Moscow City, From the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Arspidzhanov, Makhmat Maripovich, first secretary of the Andizhan-Uzbek Communist Party Oblast Committee [oblkom], CPSU member, Andizhan City, From Leninskiy Territorial Okrug No 577, Andizhan Oblast, Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

Artemenko, Gennadiy Ivanovich, leader of a team of gas arc welders at the No 140 Mechanization and Specialized Work Administration of the No 9 Construction Trust, Vitebsk City, From Vitebskiy City Territorial Okrug No 551, Vitebsk Oblast, Belorussian SSR.

Batorov, Oleg Borisovich, second secretary of the Omskiy CPSU Rayon Committee [raykom], CPSU member, Osa Village, Omskiy Rayon, Irkutsk Oblast, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], From Ust-Ordynskiy Buryatskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 746, Ust-Ordynskiy Buryatskiy Autonomous Okrug.

Batyshev, Sergey Yakovlevich, academician of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, adviser to the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Presidium, CPSU member, Moscow City, From the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences jointly with the Soviet Association of Pedagogical Researchers.

Bobrik, Boris Fedorovich, manager of the "Vostokneftprovodstroy" Trust, CPSU member, Ufa City, From Belebeyskiy Territorial Okrug No 353, Bashkir ASSR.

Bratan, Rostislav Andreyevich, writer, CPSU member, Lvov City, From Lvovskiy-Zaliznichnyi Territorial Okrug No 467, Lvov Oblast, Ukrainian SSR.

Bresis, Vilnis-Edvins Gedertovich, chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, CPSU member, Riga City, From Yekabpilskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 305, Latvian SSR.

Brodavskiy, Aniseta Petrovich, director of the Vilnius Sovkhoz-Technical College of the Lithuanian SSR, CPSU member, Pagirys Village, Vilnyuskiy Rayon, From Vilnyuskiy Rural National-Territorial Okrug No 230, Lithuanian SSR.

Bunich, Pavel Grigoryevich, head of department at the S. Ordzhonikidze Management Institute in Moscow, CPSU member, Moscow City, From the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Burkiy, Viktor Ivanovich, chairman of the Brest Oblast Soviet Executive Committee [oblastpolkom], CPSU member, Brest City, From Pinskiy Territorial Okrug No 550, Brest Oblast, Belorussian SSR.

Valov, Vladimir Arkadyevich, general director of the "Vostok" Production Association, CPSU member, Vostochnyy Settlement, Omutninskiy Rayon, Kirov Oblast, RSFSR, From Zayevskiy Territorial Okrug No 199, Kirov Oblast.

Vasilyev, Konstantin Sergeyevich, head of department at the Kamyryak Central District Hospital, candidate CPSU member, Kamyryak City, Astrakhan Oblast, RSFSR, From Primorskiy Territorial Okrug No 123, Astrakhan Oblast.

Vujilov, Mavrik Germanovich, senior teacher at the Latvian Academy of Arts, CPSU member, Riga City, From Kirovskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 296, Latvian SSR.

Geyba, Yanis Aleksovich, first secretary of the Daugavpils Latvian Communist Party Raykom, CPSU member, Daugavpils City. From Daugavpils Rural National-Territorial Okrug No 302, Latvian SSR.

Ginzburg, Vitaliy Lazarevich, adviser to the directors of the P.M. Lebedev Physics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, CPSU member, Moscow City. From the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Golovin, Stanislav Pavlovich, radio apparatus tuner at the Mari Machine-Building Plant, CPSU member, Yoshkar-Ola City. From Yoshkar-Olskiy Territorial Okrug No 374, Mari ASSR.

Goldanskii, Vitaliy Iosifovich, director of the N.N. Semenov Institute of Chemical Physics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the Soviet Pugwash Committee, CPSU member, Moscow City. From the Soviet Peace Foundation plus eight Soviet committees advocating peace, solidarity, and international cooperation.

Davronov, Akhtam, team leader on the XXII Partizal Kolchoz, Kyzyltepinskiy Rayon, CPSU member, Kyzyltepinskiy Rayon, Samarkand Oblast. From Navoiyskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 108, Uzbek SSR.

Yevtushenko, Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich, poet, secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board, Moscow City. From Kharkovskiy-Dzerzhinskiy Territorial Okrug No 520, Kharkov Oblast, Ukrainian SSR.

Zalomay, Vladimir Aleksandrovich, secretary of Brest Belorussian Communist Party Obkom, CPSU member, Brest City. From Baranovichskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 75, Belorussian SSR.

Zakharov, Viktor Viktorovich, test driver at the Kremenchug Motor Vehicle Plant of the "AvtoKrai" Production Association, CPSU member, Kremenchug City. From Kremenchugskiy Territorial Okrug No 505, Poltava Oblast, Ukrainian SSR.

Zaidar, Namali Taryetlova, tobacco grower on Beli Village Kolchoz, Shuakhevskiy Rayon, Beli Village, Shuakhevskiy Rayon, Adzharia ASSR. From Shuakhevskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 502, Adzharia ASSR.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vsevolodovich, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Slavic and Balkan Studies Institute, Moscow City. From the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Ivanov, Nikolay Veniaminovich, investigator for important cases under the USSR general prosecutor, CPSU member, Moscow City. From Leningradskiy City National-Territorial Okrug No 19, RSFSR.

Ignatovich, Nikolay Ivanovich, investigator for important cases under the Belorussian SSR prosecutor, CPSU member, Minsk City. From Minsk-Zavodskiy National-Territorial Electoral Okrug No 65, Belorussian SSR.

Ibranova, Mukhabbat, milkmaid at the "Uzbekistan" Kolchoz, Khatyrchinskiy Rayon, CPSU member, Changir Village, Khatyrchinskiy Rayon, Samarkand Oblast. From Kartakurganskiy Territorial Okrug No 587, Samarkand Oblast, Uzbek SSR.

Ilin, Aleksey Nikolayevich, first secretary of Pskov CPSU Obkom, CPSU member, Pskov City. From Ostrovskiy Territorial Okrug No 286, Pskov Oblast, RSFSR.

Yorga, Lyubov Ivanovna (Lari, Leonida), consultant at the current affairs department of the Moldavian SSR Writers' Union, Kishinev City. From Katusovskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 273, Moldavian SSR.

Kapitza, Mikhail Stepanovich, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute and chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries, CPSU member, Moscow City. From the Soviet Peace Fund in conjunction with eight Soviet committees working for peace, solidarity, and international cooperation.

Karates, Valentin Ivanovich, faculty chief at the Kramatorsk Industrial Institute, CPSU member, Kramatorsk City. From Kramatorskiy Territorial Okrug No 441, Donetsk Oblast, Ukrainian SSR.

Karimov, Dehamshod Khilolovich, first secretary of Dushanbe Tajik Communist Party City Committee [gorkom], CPSU member, Dushanbe City. From Dushanbinskiy-Tsentralniy National-Territorial Okrug No 356, Tajik SSR.

Karyakin, Yuriy Fedorovich, senior scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers' Movement, CPSU member, Moscow City. From the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Kerbers, Ivair Yanovich, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, CPSU member, Riga City. From Kuldigskiy Territorial Okrug No 711, Latvian SSR.

Kernova, Tamara Nikolayevna, assembly worker at the Cherkess Industrial Rubber Goods Plant, CPSU member, Cherkess City. From Cherkesskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 721, Karachayevo-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast.

Kimkenov, Puabida Davletovich, team leader at the "Yurhty" Sovkhoz Combine, Ust-Dzhegatskiy Rayon, CPSU member, Ust-Dzhegatskiy City, Stavropol Krai. From Ust-Dzhegatskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 725, Karachayevo-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast.

Kolesnik, Nikolay Dmitriyevich, chairman of the "Krasnaya Zvezda" Kolchoz, Donskiy Rayon, CPSU member, Platanovskaya Village, Donskiy Rayon, Krasnodar Krai. From Pervomayskiy Territorial Okrug No 74, Krasnodar Krai, RSFSR.

Kolesnikov, Sergey Ivanovich, chairman of the presidium of the East Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Siberian Department, CPSU member, Irkutsk City. From Irkutskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 10, RSFSR.

Kondratenko, Nikolay Ignatovich, chairman of Krasnodar Krai Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee, CPSU member, Krasnodar City. From Tikhoretskiy Territorial Okrug No 85, Krasnodar Krai, RSFSR.

Kondryak, Yevgeniy Konstantinovich, hull workers' team leader at the ship repair plant, CPSU member, Chardzhou City. From Chardzhoukiy-Amudarynskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 447, Turkmen SSR.

Korotich, Vitaliy Alekseyevich, chief editor of the magazine OGOINEK, CPSU member, Moscow City. From Kharkovskiy City National-Territorial Okrug No 58, Ukrainian SSR.

Kurbanov, Sakhrub Usmanovich, artist, chairman of the board of the Tajik SSR Artists' Union, CPSU member, Dushanbe City. From the USSR Artists' Union.

Lezhenko, Grigoriy Filippovich, tunneler at the V.I. Lenin Mine of the V.I. Lenin Mining Administration of the "Kryvbasrud" Production Association, CPSU member, Krivoy Rog City, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast. From Krivoruthskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 40, Ukrainian SSR.

Leuchkin, Gennadiy Stepanovich, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, CPSU member, Moscow City. From the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Makhanov, Turpanbay, chief physician at Kryl-Orda Oblast Hospital, CPSU member, Kryl-Orda City. From Kryl-Ordinskiy Territorial Okrug No 631, Kryl-Orda Oblast, Kazakh SSR.

Mostovoy, Pavel Ivanovich, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, CPSU member, Kiev City. From Leninskiy Territorial Okrug No 413, Voroshilovgrad Oblast, Ukrainian SSR.

Mukishiev, Vladimir Zhailevich, excavator operator at the "Bogaty" Open-cut Mine of the "Ekibastuzgol" Production Association, CPSU member, Ekibastuz City. From Ekibastuzskiy Territorial Okrug No 638, Pavlodar Oblast, Kazakh SSR.

Mukhammad-Yusuf, Mukhammad-Sodik, chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Tashkent City. From Tashkentkiy-Karavskiy Territorial Okrug No 598, Tashkent Oblast, Uzbek SSR.

Pavlenko, Viktor Pavlovich, director of the "Maslovskiy" State Stud Farm, Novosumanskiy Rayon, CPSU member, Novosumanskiy Rayon, Voronezh Oblast. From Semilukskiy Territorial Okrug No 155, Voronezh Oblast, RSFSR.

Pavlov, Anatoliy Vasilyevich, lathe operator at the Kungur Machine-Building Plant, CPSU member, Kungur City, Perm Oblast. From Kungurskiy Territorial Okrug No 261, Perm Oblast, RSFSR.

Pauls, Raymond Voldemarovich, composer, chairman of the Latvian SSR State Committee for Culture, Riga City. From Lijepayskiy City National-Territorial Okrug No 306, Latvian SSR.

Petrakov, Nikolay Yakovlevich, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Central Economics and Mathematics Institute, CPSU member, Moscow City. From the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Pirazarov, Roysgirdy, chief of a department at the Chardzhou Oblast Ophthalmological Hospital, Chardzhou City. From Chardzhoukiy City National-Territorial Okrug No 446, Turkmen SSR.

Rugin, Roman Prokopyevich, writer, senior methodologist at the okrug Institute of Culture of the Northern Peoples, CPSU member, Salekhard City. From Yamalo-Nenetskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 750, Yamalo-Nenetskiy Autonomous Okrug.

Sapdreyev, Roald Zinkarovich, leader of the scientific methodological center of analytical research at the USSR Academy of Sciences Space Research Institute, CPSU member, Moscow City. From the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Samarin, Vladimir Ivanovich, own correspondent for the newspaper ORLOVSKAYA PRAVDA, CPSU member, Orel City. From Orlovskiy Territorial Okrug No 249, Orel Oblast, RSFSR.

Sarkisyan, Sos Artashesovich, artist at the Sundukyan State Academic Theater, Yerevan City. From Yerevanskiy-Sovetskiy Territorial Okrug No 734, Armenian SSR.

Sekharov, Andrey Dmitriyevich, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and chief scientific staffer of the USSR Academy of Sciences P.N. Lebedev Physics Institute, Moscow City. From the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Simonyan, Karen Aramovich, deputy chief editor of the journal VOZROZHDENNAYA ARMENIYA, CPSU member, Yerevan City. From Yerevanskiy-Zeytanskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 394, Armenian SSR.

Starovoytova, Galina Vasilyevna, senior scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Center for the Study of Interethnic Relations, Moscow City. From Yerevanskiy-Sovetskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 393, Armenian SSR.

Selmaishonok, Vladimir Ivanovich, artist, chairman of the board of the Belorussian SSR Artists' Union, CPSU member, Minsk City. From the USSR Artists' Union.

Strakov, Nikolay Alekseyevich, senior investigator at the Kursk Oblast Prosecutor's Office, CPSU member, Kursk City. From Kurskiy Territorial Okrug No 216, Kursk Oblast, RSFSR.

Suleymenov, Olzhas Omarovich, writer, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Writers' Union Board, CPSU member, Alma-Ata City. From Ayagurskiy Territorial Okrug No 642, Semipalatinsk Oblast, Kazakh SSR.

Surmashidze, Tsala Otariyevna, kolchoz member at the Shkhala Village Kolchoz, Khuloyskiy Rayon, Shkhala Village, Khuloyskiy Rayon, Adzhara ASSR. From Khuloyskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 500, Adzhara ASSR.

Sydykov, Usen, first deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, CPSU member, Frunze City. From Kochkovskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 334, Kirghiz SSR.

Tashiev, Saburbay Mavlyanovich, chief of the "Turkmengeologiya" Association's Kashgariy Geological Prospecting Expedition, CPSU member, Gaurdak Settlement, Chardzhou Rayon, Chardzhou Oblast. From Khodzhambaskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 445, Turkmen SSR.

Tedeyev, Lev Razhdenovich, machine operator at the Znaurskiy Rayon Machine and Tractor Pool Repair and Operation Enterprise, Dragana Village, Znaurskiy Rayon, South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast. From Znaurskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 739, South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast.

Tkachenko, Stanislav Nikolayevich, deputy chief physician at Pavlodar Oblast Hospital, Pavlodar City. From Pavlodarskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 148, Kazakh SSR.

Tonstov, Vladimir Kalimirovich, rector of Kabardino-Balkar State University, CPSU member, Nalchik City. From Ortyabeskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 537, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR.

Turenko, Vyacheslav Stepanovich, chief of the pediatric surgery department at the Central Medical and Hygiene Unit No 104, Stepnogorsk City, Tselinograd Oblast. From Yermontovskiy Territorial Okrug No 649, Tselinograd Oblast, Kazakh SSR.

Tyurina, Tamara Vasilyevna, chief of the technology bureau of the "Elektrovypryamitel" Production Association, Saransk City. From Saranskiy Territorial Okrug No 376, Mordovian ASSR.

Fedorov, Nikolay Vasilyevich, senior teacher at the Chuvash State University, CPSU member, Cheboksary. From Moskovskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 681, Chuvash ASSR.

Khakmazarov, Salomonzhon, team leader on the "Gantibad" Sovkhoz, Uzbekistanskiy Rayon, Olmashit Village, Uzbekistanskiy Rayon, Fergana Oblast. From Kokandskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 122, Uzbek SSR.

Khalik, Klara Semenovna, leading scientific staffer at the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law, CPSU member, Tallinn City. From Tallinskiy-Mustamyskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 454, Estonian SSR.

Khanzadyan, Sero Nikolayevich, writer, CPSU member, Yerevan City. From Echmiadzinskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 416, Armenian SSR.

Kharitonov, Viktor Fedorovich, director of the Marom Dzerzhinskiy Plant, CPSU member, Marom City, Vladimir Oblast. From Maromskiy Territorial Okrug No 137, Vladimir Oblast, RSFSR.

Kharif, Semen Lvovich, general director of the "Gornozavodskiy" Production Association, CPSU member, Gornozavodsk City, Perm Oblast. From Chusovskiy Territorial Okrug No 263, Perm Oblast.

Khusanov, Abdurhabbar Ulmasovich, senior secretary at the editorial office of the oblast newspaper KOMMUNA, CPSU member, Fergana City. From Ferganskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 125, Uzbek SSR.

Chepanis, Alfred Kazimirovich, deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, CPSU member, Riga City. From Daugavpilskiy Territorial Okrug No 709, Latvian SSR.

Chernenko, Vladimir Timofeyevich, mechanic at the "Pobeda" Kolchoz, Gulkevichskiy Rayon, CPSU member, Verbovyi Village, Gulkevichskiy Rayon, Krasnodar Kray. From Kropotkinskiy Territorial Okrug No 77, Krasnodar Kray, RSFSR.

Shamiladze, Vakhang Mamishevich, faculty chief at Thilisi State University, CPSU member, Thilisi City. From Batumskiy-Leonidze National-Territorial Okrug No 494, Adzhar ASSR.

Shamshov, Igor Borisovich, senior teacher at Yaroslavl State University, CPSU member, Yaroslavl City. From Leninskiy Territorial Okrug No 345, Yaroslavl Oblast, RSFSR.

Shapulin, Nikolay Petrovich, electric welders' team leader at the Stavropol Truck Trailer Plant of the Kama Large-Capacity Trucks Association, Stavropol City. From Stavropol'skiy Territorial Okrug No 103, Stavropol Kray, RSFSR.

Shmelev, Nikolay Petrovich, section chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the United States of America and Canada, CPSU member, Moscow City. From the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Esorgapov, Abdugappar Dzhuribekovich, leader of a cotton growing team in the "Krasnaya Zarya" Kolchoz, Gulistan'skiy Rayon, CPSU member, Gulistan'skiy Rayon, Syr-Darya Oblast. From Gulistan'skiy National-Territorial Okrug No 114, Uzbek SSR.

Yakovlev, Aleksandr Maksimovich, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, CPSU member, Moscow City. From the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Moscow Political Rally Examines Upcoming Congress
LD2105200189 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT
21 May 89

[*Meeting At Luzhniki in Support of Forthcoming Congress*]—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 21 TASS—A meeting in connection with the forthcoming Congress of USSR People's Deputies took place in Luzhniki tonight.

The meeting, which was held by the Society Memorial, the Moscow Tribune Club and other informal associations, was attended by USSR people's deputies as well as by representatives of social groups and movements from a number of cities and union republics.

The meeting's organizers, who notified the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Council in advance of its intention to hold a meeting in support of the forthcoming forum, received a permission for that.

The participants in the meeting had an opportunity to exchange opinions on all matters which arouse great social interest and which are connected with the forthcoming congress, its tasks, and various platforms of people's deputies.

Some speakers suggested that the work of the congress should not be limited only to creating an elective body—a USSR Supreme Soviet—but should be continued to take major and specific legislative decisions concerning ways to overcome the crisis phenomena in the economy, to improve the material position of low-income sections of the population and to develop and strengthen the legal foundations of the state.

Many various ideas and suggestions were voiced during the meeting. In particular, speakers voiced disagreement with the conclusion of the special commission to examine numerous statements and complaints about serious violations of legality on the part of Teimur Gdlyan and Nikolay Ivanov, investigators of the USSR Procurator's Office. It was suggested that this work be entrusted to a new commission which would be set up by the forthcoming congress.

The participants in the meeting conveyed a social mandate to the deputies.

Yeltsin Denounces Congress Agenda
AU2105173089 Paris AFP in English 1410 GMT
21 May 89

[Text] Moscow, May 21 (AFP)—An authorized meeting of more than 100,000 people here Sunday afternoon heard Communist Party maverick Boris Yeltsin denounce preparations for the Thursday meeting of the Congress of People's Deputies.

The meeting, attended by deputy (and former dissident) Andrey Sakharov, was held to stimulate interest in the impending meeting of the new parliament.

Mr. Yeltsin, former Moscow Communist Party chief, said he was speaking in the name of the "new Moscow deputies" and denounced the Thursday meeting's agenda, which he said was "prepared by the (party) apparatus." He asked President Mikhail Gorbachev to report to the congress on the results of four years of perestroika (restructuring).

In the afternoon, demonstrators continued to arrive at the meeting site, near Luzhniki stadium.

The Sunday gathering was the largest such authorized meeting ever held here. As Mr. Yeltsin denounced the agenda drawn up for the Thursday morning, the crowd shouted "Shame, shame!"

He noted that the election of the president of the new Supreme Soviet would occur only once there was a discussion of the issue, with participation by the congress's 2,250 deputies. He suggested there be several candidates for the office, to which the crowd chanted "Yeltsin, Yeltsin".

Mr. Gorbachev is thought likely to be elected by the congress to succeed himself as chief of state, and to be given stronger powers under the new constitution adopted at the end of last year.

Judge Trifan Gdlyan, a new Moscow deputy who was attacked Friday by a committee of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, was on the podium at the rally, and Mr. Yeltsin called on Muscovites to "fight like Gdlyan against corrupt officials".

The committee asked the Soviet prosecutor's office on Friday to investigate "serious complaints" of alleged abuses committed by Judges Gdlyan and Nikolay Ivanov. The latter, speaking on Leningrad television, accused conservative leader Yegor Ligachev of being connected with a corruption and forgery affair relating to the cotton harvest in Uzbekistan, in Central Asia.

Mr. Yeltsin said the Moscow deputies had received support for their approach from many deputies elected in other districts.

There were three banners around the podium, saying "Support the deputies", "For radical perestroika", and "Shame to the reactionaries—the people have the floor".

Yeltsin Interviewed on Upcoming Deputies Congress
LD2005004589 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1812 GMT 19 May 89

[Interview with B.N. Yeltsin by an unidentified correspondent, from the "View" program, captioned: "Toward the Congress: People's Deputy B.N. Yeltsin", date and place not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] More than 5 million Muscovites cast their votes for Minister Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, in the wording of the ballots, in doing so, they removed you from the job of minister. Does this mean that you are now without work?

[Yeltsin] First of all, it was voluntary. I told the voters from the very start, even during the election campaign, that I would, of course, leave the job in accordance with the law. Of course, we don't yet have the term unemployed deputy; we don't have this combination of words. Evidently, some sort of new era needs to be opened in this regard. I have put in the application and they will, of course, release me from the duties of minister before the congress. As for how fate will turn out in the future, we shall decide after the congress.

[Correspondent] Obviously everyone currently is concerned about the forthcoming congress—I have in mind the procedures of the congress, questions of priorities, and so on. In your view, are there any reasons for anxiety and worry?

[Yeltsin] Without a doubt. There is anxiety because even the whole of the election campaign demonstrated that we have not yet gotten rid of stereotypes and of pressure from, among other things, the party and bureaucratic apparatus, so to speak. That is why there has been a sort of struggle between the informal deputies or candidate deputies, so to speak, and those who were being pushed through by the apparatus. In this regard, the apparatus was losing, as a rule, and things went as far as violations of the law on elections. I will not give examples, there are too many of them. Moreover, this generally gives grounds for raising at the congress the question of the accountability of those who violated the law on elections.

It seems to me, all the same, that perhaps the main task of what can be called a kind of constituent congress is to elect the Supreme Soviet. It is the latter, and no other apparatus, that—as was the case in the past—that will be preparing draft decrees, laws, decisions, and so on. It will prepare them on the basis of the interests of voters, meaning the people. It is only a matter of a few days now, but deputies are unaware of any kind of proposal for procedures for election to the Supreme Soviet. Therefore, we are taking the initiative into our own hands and are working out these proposals ourselves right now. If they thrust a list upon us, or are not accommodating toward the deputies, as it were, we are ready to propose our alternative option for electing the Supreme Soviet. A very fundamental issue in this is the elections.

[Correspondent, interrupting] I have to interrupt you. You said: We will propose. Who are we?

[Yeltsin] I mean the Moscow group. However, when we prepare these documents we will send them out to everyone, so that everyone is in the know, so that they can make their adjustments, changes, additions, and so on.

[Correspondent] The congress will only be engaged in procedural issues, then?

[Yeltsin] Apart from procedural issues, it is evidently necessary to adopt a number of top-priority laws as well.

[Correspondent] For example?

[Yeltsin] Perhaps, for example, on pensions, perhaps on young people. Perhaps about the press, maybe, depending on the level of their preparation, or at least the instructions to the Supreme Soviet, on the preparations of these laws. Then, on changing decrees that have been adopted lately which hardly can be called constitutional or even democratic.

[Correspondent] As far as I can judge, we do have a guarantee that the congress, and possibly the Supreme Soviet, will not be rubber-stamp bodies—but is there a guarantee that we will not go to the other extreme of endless debate without result?

[Yeltsin] The Supreme Soviet—both its chambers—will be in session for 3-4 months at their autumn and spring sessions. This is a lengthy period, nonetheless, when one will be able to argue to one's heart's content, to have a debate, and to come to some sort of more-or-less mutual majority view.

[Correspondent] I see, but experience has shown that it is difficult for a society to develop without pluralism of views. Pluralism presupposes the comparison of views, the interaction of opponents in politics. You are a politician. In politics, the interaction of opponents, as far as I imagine it, means an opposition. Are you a member of the opposition?

[Yeltsin] Some people call me a member of the opposition, probably because of their own interests. I think that this is not at all right. One can even refer to the 19th conference and to Comrade Gorbachev's report, where he said that there should be political freedom to express your will. Therefore, if I voice a view that differs from the official line, as it were, or from the majority of deputies, for instance, this cannot be called opposition because an opposition presupposes a completely alternative view of certain problems.

[Correspondent] Have any events occurred, in your view, which would make it possible for these differences of yours and your points of view to come closer together?

[Yeltsin] I would correct that again and say that there are no differences. It is my view regarding matters of restructuring tactics within the country which differs.

[Correspondent, attempting to interrupt] But...

[Yeltsin, continuing] This is not a disagreement; that is the first thing. Second, regarding what I have been talking about and regarding matters related to the population's standard of living, virtually five decisions out of seven have been adopted, meaning that five matters out of seven have been resolved. This indicates that there is a rapprochement.

[Correspondent] Thank you for the interview, Boris Nikolayevich.

Yeltsin, Others Comment on Tbilisi Situation
LD1905214589 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1832 GMT 19 May 89

[From the "View" program]

[Text] [Video shows daytime and night-time footage of crowds of people and armed personnel carriers (APC's), captioned "Tbilisi, April 1989", archive footage]

[Unidentified Correspondent] View continues to keep you informed about the tragic events in Tbilisi which took place here, by the Government House, on the night of 8-9 April.

You know, there are continuing rumors that in Tbilisi there are instances of attacks on servicemen, Russian servicemen. Is that true?

[R. Gventsadze, head of City of Tbilisi Internal Affairs Administration] Well, I can answer this question as follows: There have been instances, of course. After the Tbilisi events there were several instances—we could enumerate 10-15 instances. We instigated criminal proceedings in all these instances. But some of them did not go through because there were cases when the servicemen presumably were afraid to tell the truth, and made statements that they had been beaten up in the street. For example, the case when a serviceman with the rank of major—I cannot remember his name—declared that he allegedly had been beaten up in the street by three youths. After the investigation it turned out that it was his own driver that had beaten him up.

As far as the allegations are concerned that there are particular instances when the Georgian population stoned servicemen's windows, not a single such instance has been noted in Tbilisi and we have not had any reports of such.

[Correspondent] One more question. Has the number of, let's say, attacks on servicemen increased after the events of 9 April or...

[Gventsadze, interrupting] Not at all. We had those last year, we have always had such instances, but that is not directed in particular against servicemen or against the Russian population.

[Correspondent] The city is, on the whole, calm, but the main talking point is 9 April. [video shows government buildings]

[Name indistinct] (N.Genovich), what's the situation today with victims?

[I. Menagarishvili, Georgian minister of health] By today, that is 13 May, we have had a total of 3,900 people applying for assistance. Up to 600 of these were hospitalized. Today 349 are still receiving treatment in our hospitals.

[Correspondent] Are these mainly cases of injury or of poisoning?

[Menagarishvili] Both. We have had 198 people with injuries, including various stabbings, cuts, cranial wounds, fractured limbs, contusions. But the largest number of people were of course those with chemical poisoning. By today the number of those that were hospitalized has reached some 400.

[Correspondent] And is their situation improving?

[Menagarishvili] In general the situation is improving, although slowly.

[Correspondent] In Batumi, View met the head of the Georgian church, Ilya II who was consecrating the Church of Our Lady, which has just opened in the city. During a brief conversation with the View correspondent the patriarch said that there was no need to make hasty conclusions about the events of 9 April, before the commissions complete their work. In Ilya II's view, even an address by the head of the church on television would not lessen the grief for the dead. [video shows crowds, church, religious ceremonies, Ilya II, captioned "City of Batumi"]

The path of searching for the truth—or the road to the temple—is still very long. Already four commissions are involved in the work, including a commission from the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Video shots captioned "Town of Reutovo (Moscow Oblast)"]

[Correspondent] On 11 May, at the Dzerzhinsky Internal Troops Division barracks in Reutovo, a meeting took place between representatives of the deputies' commission on the events in Tbilisi and servicemen who directly participated in the events. The deputies included Academician Sakharov, writer Vasilyev, historian Karyagin, Air Force Major Kharchenko. The deputies were shown samples of equipment and weapons used by internal troops, as well as special devices—Chernukha [bird cherry] gas in various forms of packaging—which was used in Tbilisi. [video shows deputies, including Sakharov, facing a group of servicemen in a conference room; display of photographs labeled "Photographic Material from the Scene of Events, City of Tbilisi"; table with a steel helmet and other indistinct pieces of equipment; soldier displaying a bulletproof vest; a selection of cylindrical containers, including one labelled "Chernukha-6"; soldier displaying a plastic shield; soldier demonstrating flexibility of a rubber baton]

It was announced at the beginning of the meeting that the main purpose was to search for the truth. Both sides taking part in the meeting presented their versions and appraisals of events. According to the officers and men of the Dzerzhinsky Division they had acted correctly, in accordance with the situation, and were fulfilling their military duty. The view of the deputies in this respect was somewhat different. According to the divisional command, cases have been instigated against several servicemen who took part in the Tbilisi events. At the same time, the officers and men denied having committed some of the actions that took place in Tbilisi. Despite the divergence of viewpoints the meeting turned out to be very productive as it made it possible to clarify much of what had happened. At the same time the difficulties

of finding mutual understanding were presumably determined by the fact that some of the components of the overall picture were clearly missing. Evidently some of the events have a different addressee. For the complete picture to be reconstructed a number of questions need to be answered.

What units, apart from subunits of the Dzerzhinsky Division, took part in the events in Tbilisi? Were they armed with gas? Who took the decision to dispatch troops to Tbilisi and to conduct that particular operation? We hope that the work of the commission is going to cast light on these questions.

And one more question: Who was interested in agitating public opinion, casting a shadow on the Armed Forces, and creating a sense of instability in the people? [video shows more shots of deputies, including Sakharov, and servicemen; thriller music in the background throughout]

[Video caption "City of Moscow"] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, you have recently returned from Georgia. How can we help the people, and Georgia, to come out of this state of shock? What should be done to that end? What do you think?

[Yeltsin] You see, as long as we don't have the whole truth—that is in the sense of who, after all, was involved in it, who gave permission or instructions there and so on, who organized events in such an inefficient way, so to speak—that is, the whole truth now has to be laid bare—the Georgian people are not going to calm down. That's patently obvious. I think that hampering the discovery of the complete truth is a double and triple crime. Irrespective of how much time is going to pass, the whole truth will inevitably be known. [video shows correspondent interviewing Yeltsin in an armchair against a booklined wall]

Deputy Calls Ryzhkov Ecological 'Illiterate'
A1905141489 Paris AFP in English 1342 GMT
19 May 89

[Text] Moscow, May 19 (AFP)—A Soviet scientist Friday denounced Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov's environmental policies, and hinted that a call for his removal might be made when the new Soviet parliament holds its first meeting next week.

Scientist Aleksey Yablukov, of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and a newly elected member of the Congress of People's Deputies, blasted Mr. Ryzhkov as "an illiterate in the field of ecology" during a press conference here.

When pressed, Mr. Yablukov notably condemned a plan to develop the chemical industry in western Siberia, an area that has undergone relentless industrialization to the detriment of the native population and the environment. This plan has already triggered an outcry by several other scientists.

He said Mr. Ryzhkov was guilty of "serious reproaches" and that he "will be notified directly and seriously during the Congress, which raises the question" of whether he should remain in his post.

The scientist was forced to retract his statement and conceded there was no other candidate to replace Mr. Ryzhkov when Yuriy Izrael, chairman of the state committee on hydrometeorology, and Fedor Morgan, chairman of the state committee for the protection of nature, came to the premier's defense.

After the press conference, Mr. Yablokov said he was worried about the "catastrophic ecological situation" in certain Soviet regions, that he said some voters had sanctioned by their choice of deputies.

"Ecology has become an obstacle to economic development," he charged.

He said a proposal would be made at the new congress to trim the heavy Soviet government machine, which includes some 100 ministers.

Commander Gromov Discusses Afghanistan, Campaign
LD2105211489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 21 May 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Boris Vsevolodovich Gromov, USSR people's deputy from the Priluki territorial district, Chernigov Oblast, hero of the Soviet Union, and commander of the Kiev military district, is at the microphone.

[Begin recording] [Passage omitted] [Unidentified correspondent] We are sorry for those people we lost in Afghanistan. In connection with this, in connection with those bitter losses, there are naturally different opinions on the war in Afghanistan. What is your personal opinion?

[Gromov] About 14,000 or slightly fewer died there. Of course, there is great sorrow for those people. This is our main anguish. We tried to do everything to reduce those losses. Of course, this is society's grief, too. Well, what to do to prevent such things? I think in the future we should ask society and the people whether such campaigns are worth undertaking. I am not saying that we should not help, for example, the Afghan people. But how to help is another matter. Perhaps the people should be consulted and asked about that.

[Correspondent] And do you, as a deputy, have in your platform precisely this clause about consultations or a plebiscite on some vital problems of our state?

[Gromov] You see, I think that the current situation in society—democracy, glasnost, and openness in resolving all questions without exceptions—will not permit adopting such a decision.

[Correspondent] To adopt a wrong decision?

[Gromov] Yes, a wrong decision, of course, by a narrow circle of people who could have a chat at a high level somewhere, three or four people, as used to be the case. Then the people would be presented with a fait accompli, including the army.

[Correspondent] Boris Vsevolodovich, what do you as a deputy expect specifically from this congress?

[Gromov] I think that the congress must resolve the main issues. There is now a good deal of talk. Perhaps, we should get down to business, to work with figures, facts, conclusions, and decisions.

[Correspondent] Well, I wish you luck.

[Gromov] Thank you. [end recording]

15 May Bomb Threat at Moscow Trade Center Reported
LD190511489 Moscow TASS in English 1115 GMT
19 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS—Tough security measures have been adopted in the World Trade Centre in Moscow following an anonymous telephone call to the Moscow city and region Department of the State Security Committee (KGB) on Monday.

Stanislav Shumskiy, deputy general director of the all-union association Sovintcentre, told TASS that the unidentified caller warned about a "possible explosion" in the world center.

"We informed all employees about the call," Shumskiy said. "There are no grounds to take the threat too seriously, but we could not ignore it altogether either."

The Moscow city and region KGB department confirmed that the call did take place.

A TASS correspondent learned that a similar call had earlier been registered at the KGB department. The identity of two callers was determined, criminal proceedings were filed against them.

"We promptly reacted to the latest call," a KGB spokesman told TASS. "At stake is the life of people. An investigation is launched in each case of this kind."

Ukrainian Plenum Criticizes 'Nationalists' Groups
PM2005182889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 89 First Edition p 2

["Notes From the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum" by PRAVDA correspondents M. Odinets, I. Tikhonov: "Energy and Intellect"]

[Text] Kiev—This plenum discussed a very topical question—the tasks of the republic party organization in stepping up party political work in present-day conditions. A report was delivered by V.V. Shcherbinsky, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Changes for the better are taking place first and foremost where party organizations analyze vital processes in depth, take public opinion carefully into account and form it skillfully, and channel people's initiative into the resolution of priority tasks. In this connection the work of the Kiev Oblast Party Committee [obkom] was assessed positively. Cherkassy Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom is intensively mastering political methods of leadership. Its work style is increasingly distinguished by an analytical approach and the collective resolution of questions, coupled with an increase in personal responsibility for concrete results.

Much that is of interest has also emerged in the activity of a number of city, rayon, and primary party organizations. But urgent problems are still being resolved too slowly both in individual regions and in the republic as a whole.

What are the reasons for this? How can the braking forces be overcome? An idea that ran right through the plenum was that of the need to strengthen the living links between party organizations and people and increase the effectiveness of ideological and political work. In present conditions it is necessary to act much more energetically, and largely in a new way. It should be clear that the difficulties restructuring is encountering cause people to feel dissatisfied, and sometimes give rise to a certain social tension. In a certain section of society the prestige of conscientious labor is falling and some of the moral values of socialism have been shaken. At the same time political work continues to suffer from the old, out-moded methods, as became particularly clear in the course of the election campaign.

Many unofficial formations of various kinds are active in the republic today. They include some whose orientation is patently destructive, antisocialist, and nationalist. Extreme political adventurism and open anti-Sovietism are characteristic, for instance, of the so-called "Ukrainian Helsinki Union." Grossly violating their own pledges, its leaders pursue a line of undermining the constitutional rule of law and order, rehabilitating the aims of the [prewar] Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and developing a broad "national," or more

accurately nationalist, movement for the secession of the Ukraine from the USSR. And they operate increasingly brazenly. The plenum instructed Lvov party obkom to give a political assessment of the actions and plans of this grouping.

It is well known that attempts have been stepped up in the republic to create a new political structure, which its initiators call the "Ukrainian People's Movement for Restructuring." The initiators' plan is for it to be a mass, widely ramified organization ranking above the organs of soviet power and basically in opposition to the CPSU.

Naturally, big workers' collectives, the presidium of the republic Academy of Sciences, the Ukrainian Trade Unions Council, the Ukrainian Leninist Communist Youth League [komsomol] Central Committee, the board of the "Znatiye" Society, the republican council of war and labor veterans, and many party organizations and soviets of people's deputies have come out against attempts to create a Ukrainian People's Movement.

Many people expressed the view that it is necessary to reveal more profoundly and specifically the true intentions of the organizers of the various formations that adhere to unacceptable ideological positions. Of course, we cannot turn a deaf ear to informal associations, even those of a dubious orientation. It is necessary to conduct dialogue with them, win healthy forces over to our side, and channel their initiative in a constructive direction. At the same time there is no doubt as to the correctness of the proposals of many comrades who note, in appeals to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, that membership of formations of a nationalist, extremist nature is incompatible with membership in the CPSU.

On the role of the intelligentsia in the present transformations, the speakers noted that for the most part they are behind the party and devote their knowledge and talent to the cause of restructuring. However, one cannot ignore the instances of inaccurate ideological positions which occur in this milieu. Concern is caused by the moral and political situation in certain creative unions and organizations and institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences. We are in favor of socialist pluralism of opinion, the speakers said, and of support for any initiatives that help to deepen restructuring. But we cannot, must not neglect our duty to give a principled party assessment of everything that hampers the consolidation of society and runs counter to socialism's interests.

A considerable part of the discussion was devoted to the education of young people. Experience shows that it is students who have been most damaged by the influence of various informal associations, including those of a dubious nature. This was particularly marked at Kiev University and a number of other higher educational establishments in the republic. The opinion was expressed that in work with young people it is necessary

more resolutely to abandon old patterns, formal instruction, and conventionalism. We should engage in frank, trusting dialogue with the young generation about the destiny of socialism and responsibility for the country's future.

Today it is important to sum up practical experience in economic management in the new conditions. Instances of such experience were cited at the plenum. They are the "Krasnoarmeyskiy" Production Association, the "Anovstal" Metallurgical Combine, the Kiev "Boishchik," S.P. Korolev, and "Tochelektropribor" Production Associations, the Lvov "Kosveyer" Production Association, "Donetskormash," "Kharkovtraktornazapchast," "Zaporozhtransformator," and others. But why do instances of flagrant extravagance still persist? In the economic enterprises subordinate to the republic Council of Ministers alone, unproductive expenditures and losses total around R4 billion a year.

A sad fact was cited self-critically from the platform—Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenums have twice examined questions of increasing the efficiency of capital construction, but there has yet to be much progress in this important sector of the national economy.

In recent years the production of the main agricultural products has increased in the republic. Nonetheless the population's requirements, particularly for meat and dairy products, are not satisfied. The main reason is that the rate of growth of food production is lagging behind demand. Today, it was noted at the plenum, exceptionally great significance is attached to the contract, the lease system, cooperatives, and new agro-industrial formations. This year the lease contract will be used on nearly 6,600 farms, or nearly two-thirds, and on one-third of collective and state farms [kolkhozes and sovkhozes] crop farming and livestock raising have gone over entirely to lease conditions. Integration processes are also developing. More than 400 agro-industrial combines, associations, and firms have been set up.

The speeches of the plenum participants were permeated by concern for the destiny of restructuring, the further development of democracy and heightening of responsibility, and the improvement of people's life. The energy and intellect of party organizations must be channeled into the resolution of these same tasks.

Specialist Critiques Baltic Assembly Documents
PM2105164889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 May 89 First Edition p 7

[Article by Reyn Myullerson, doctor of legal sciences, chief of the International Law Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law and member of the UN Human Rights Committee: "Forward, to the Past"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The Baltic Assembly held in Tallinn 13-14 May was organized on the initiative of the Estonian and Latvian People's Fronts and Lithuania's "Sąjūdis."

Among the delegates to the assembly were groups of USSR people's deputies, guests from other union republics, and representatives of social organizations and movements from a number of countries.

Doctor of Legal Sciences Reyn Myullerson, chief of the International Law Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law and member of the UN Human Rights Committee, comments on the Baltic Assembly documents:

The subjects of discussion at the assembly were questions of republican economic autonomy, problems of national relations, the place of social movements in the political structure of society, and so forth.

The participants in the assembly adopted a "package" of documents: a declaration on the economic autonomy of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, a declaration of rights of the Baltic nations, a resolution on the crimes of Stalinism, and others.

Along with provisions that are undisputed, these documents also contain some points that, in my view, do not reflect the real state of affairs. For instance, one of the documents says: "The Soviet Union, by annexing the Baltic states, eliminated the statehood of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and did everything possible to make the nations of these countries lose their identity. The Baltic nations, which survived at the cost of supreme efforts, to this day have no opportunity in practice to determine their own destiny and exercise state sovereignty. There have been no substantial changes in the great-power ideology and policy of the Soviet Union, according to which nations are a transient phenomenon that hampers progress. The system of power in the Soviet Union negates even the most cautious attempts at self-determination by nations."

Another proposition—that the plans for republican economic accountability drawn up in the Baltic region are the only correct ones—is also highly dubious. "...The USSR's leadership organs basically ignore the Baltic republics' proposals and try to substitute verbosity and contradictory provisions for urgent economic reform. This leads the majority of the population of the Baltic republics to feel disappointed in restructuring. It leads to the emergence of centrifugal aspirations and the need to seek resolute ways of abolishing the diktal of the 'strong center'."

The organizers of the assembly, venturing to express the "intelligence and will" of literally all citizens of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, state: "We are convinced that along with the expansion of glasnost, mass democratic movements are the only guarantor of the continuation and irreversibility of the radical restructuring of society." As if the CPSU had nothing to do with it, as if it had not started up the mechanism of the country's renewal in April 1985.

The restructuring that was started in Moscow 4 years ago is spreading not only vertically, stimulating public life in the republics and the localities. It is also moving horizontally, exerting a tangible influence on the situation in many regions of the planet. The renewal processes have demonstrated the interdependence of the future of every republic, their union, and the positive changes that have begun in the world. The consistent nature of our domestic reforms has a direct influence on world affairs, and other peoples also have an interest in the success of the struggle for the democratization of Soviet society. The majority of them, recognizing this, rejoice in our successes and sympathize with our difficulties and failures.

It is therefore only natural that the documents adopted at the Baltic Assembly have not only republican, but also unionwide and even international echoes.

I would be pleased to subscribe to many of the provisions of these documents, just as I would take pride in a whole series of restructuring processes in the Baltic region, especially in the sphere of the economy, in the sphere of the struggle against the diktat of ministries that still cling to the administrative edict methods of leadership, and in the cause of rehabilitating the victims of Stalinist terror. From my viewpoint, the Baltic republics could play the part of unique social laboratories in a number of complex problems posed by restructuring.

However, unfortunately, along with the positive trends in the activity of people's movements and other movements in the Baltic region, there is a proportionate increase in (much as I dislike using these terms) extremist demands, ultimatums, and even nationalist demands and appeals.

The documents adopted in Tallinn in mid-May are not exempt from this. It must be said frankly that in their totality, although this is not said outright anywhere, they only make sense if their authors had in mind the complete separation of the three republics from the Soviet Union.

Take, for instance, the condemnation of the "secret protocols" of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in the Agreement Between the People's Movements of the Baltic Republics. Although it is possible to argue about whether or not these documents exist, given that the originals, despite all the attempts to find them, have not been discovered anywhere, the course of events in the fall of 1939 itself, in my view, testifies to the existence of, if not a written, at least an oral "gentleman's" agreement between the Stalin and Hitler regimes on spheres of influence. There is other indirect evidence of this too.

I think that this "gap" in our history too requires investigation and evaluation, however dark it may prove. But I feel that some people in the Baltic region see such an evaluation as meaning only one thing—obtaining a supposedly legal basis for the demand to secede from the Soviet Union, or even evidence that Estonia,

Latvia, and Lithuania never were legally part of the USSR. But in that case there is no point in investigating, since the evaluation is predetermined.

Was such a deal possible from the moral or political viewpoint? Taking into account the moral and political characteristics of the participants in the deal—certainly. Neither the nonaggression pact of 23 August 1939, nor the border and friendship agreement signed between the USSR and Germany on 28 September of the same year, nor many other acts of the Stalin regime, not only inside the country, but also in the international arena, redound to the honor of our state. Even the respite obtained as a result of the conclusion of the pact was used more effectively by Hitler than by Stalin. This was a case of Satan outdoing the devil at the expense of the peoples of not only their own countries, but, as later became clear, the whole world.

But that is only one aspect, one side of this complex problem. Fascist Germany was preparing for war and actually waging it even before the conclusion of these treaties. The Anschluss of Austria, the occupation of Czechoslovakia—that is the prelude to a major war.

In these conditions, what alternatives were available to the Baltic states, located as they are in a strategically important area? Naturally, they could not remain neutral like Switzerland or Sweden. The Baltic region would have become a bridgehead for the Hitlerites to move to the East. And then the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian peoples would not have come out on the side of the allied nations in the struggle against Fascism, but would most likely have participated unwillingly in the spread of Hitler's misanthropic ideology. And as is indicated by documents discovered in Berlin, the Fuehrer was not contemplating any kind of independence for these peoples. In the National Socialists' plans, theirs was a privileged lot only by comparison with the proposed fate of the Jews, Gypsies, and Slavic peoples. Is that such a great honor?

Aligning themselves with the Soviet Union, the Baltic peoples came out against Fascist enslavement, together with the country's other peoples and the other allied nations. But it is clear that Stalinist methods were used in deciding the fate of these peoples, and that in the state with which these countries aligned themselves and which, in the worldwide conflagration, bore the main brunt of the defense of democratic ideals throughout the world, a terrorist dictatorship held sway at that time. The victory of all the Soviet people, including the Baltic peoples, over fascism, the victory of freedom and democracy over darkness, strengthened, by an irony of fate, the victory of Stalin over the people, of the totalitarian state over society.

The Baltic Assembly documents, incidentally, for some reason only discuss the crimes of Stalinism against the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian peoples. But what about the slaughter of Georgians, Russians, Ukrainians? The crimes against the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tatars?..

In the Estonian press I frequently come across arguments about the rapidly advancing Baltic and the conservative Moscow. This is rather reminiscent of the desire for self-adulation that we all displayed in the recent past. Not so long ago the Tartu newspaper EDAZI wrote, and I quote: "We have fewer allies than we expected. The Lithuanians and Latvians lacked the courage to keep pace with us. The Caucasians and Asians are a very long way from us not only geographically, but spiritually... And although we are alone, we are alone with our truth and justice."

I have no desire to comment on these words. Restructuring is under way in the country. It is proceeding with difficulty, in the course of a struggle. But it is not a struggle of republic against republic, nation against nation, or even periphery against center, although the administrative edict system does indeed endeavor, sometimes on the sly, sometimes by going openly onto the offensive, to hold on to its former positions and defend them. And this system exists not only in Moscow, and often not principally in Moscow. It exists in the Baltic region, the Ukraine, the Caucasus. And nationalist ideas and statements, and even more so the actions based on them, only strengthen the positions of the administrative edict system and all the opponents of restructuring.

Extremes always converge objectively, however far removed from each other they may be subjectively. Those who long to turn the screw and hanker after a firm hand find arguments and justifications for their actions in the behavior and statements, it seems to me, of some of the leaders of the Baltic People's Fronts. What can one say, for instance, about E. Savisaar's statement that the Estonian national flag fortunately lacks the color red—the color of blood and vengeance? Is not this an insult to many peoples of the world? Or take Ya. Kaplinskiy's words, also in EDAZI. According to him, Moscow is moving toward the view that the only good Estonian is a dead Estonian. This statement, if you assume at least that their authors know what they are saying, can only be described as provocation. Provocation specifically against the Estonian people, aimed at prompting a negative reaction from other peoples. They reveal the desire to win cheap but quick popularity at all costs, even if it means exacerbating the situation.

The awakening of national consciousness and concern for the language, culture, and natural environment of one's native region should not lead to nationalist manifestations. True pride in one's people is not compatible with scorn for the values and traditions of other peoples.

After all, even just demands for the strengthening of the republics' sovereignty can in this way be counterposed to objective trends in social development.

The world community is moving away from the unilateral dependence of some states and peoples on others, through the struggle for independence, to universal interdependence. This interdependence is manifested, in particular, in the voluntary limitation of the sovereignty of

states, in favor, for instance, of international organizations and integration associations. Absolute sovereignty, if it ever existed, has long since ceased to do so. Some of the calls of various movements in the Baltic region for what is basically absolute sovereignty are therefore anachronistic.

Not separation from the union, not even an association of the confederative type, which is an obsolete and interim form of state structure, but a truly federative structure based on national statehood, an alliance of equal republics—that is what is needed now. It is another matter that our federation hitherto existed mainly on paper, while the republics' sovereignty was purely a matter of declarations.

It is therefore hardly in the peoples' interests to go backward, albeit in the hope of beginning a new forward movement unshackled by the old mistakes and even crimes. Just as, in the sphere of our spiritual heritage, our slogan should not be: Back to Lenin, but forward with Lenin, Marx, Hegel, Kant, and other thinkers and humanists. So too, in the sphere of politics, state, and law, our motto cannot be: Back to 1939 or 1940. Uncovering and making public everything positive and negative that happened in our history and condemning everything that deserves condemnation, we must move into tomorrow from today.

Quite recently, at the UN Human Rights Committee, of which I am a member, when, during a break between sessions, we were discussing the domestic problems of the Soviet Union in general and the Baltic republics in particular, one of my foreign colleagues formulated very accurately, it seems to me, the hopes that many people in various countries pin on the success of restructuring in the USSR. I hope, he said, that all your problems will be resolved successfully within the framework of your union and will not have a negative impact on your state's foreign policy. This concern is also expressed by other representatives of Western business and public circles that have an interest in the Soviet Union's stability.

Indeed, the continued movement of the pointer on the international barometer in the direction of "fast" depends largely on the success of our domestic changes, democratization, glasnost, and the normalization of our national economy. The strength of the Soviet Union as a whole depends on how strong and healthy the republics and all the components of our union state are. A strong USSR—not so much strong in tanks and nuclear warheads as economically strong, successfully tackling its social and national problems, democratic, and open to cooperation with all states—is an important factor in the resolution of all global problems. Not for nothing do people from various countries, of different political convictions, but united by the desire for peace, wish our restructuring success and suffer keenly with us when the processes of democratization and glasnost run aground on reefs, including those created by tensions in interethnic relations.

Fire 'Raging' at Estonian Chemical Waste Dump
*LD2005202189 Moscow TASS in English 2007 GMT
20 May 89*

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Kohtla-Järve, Estonia, May 20 TASS—A fire is raging at the waste dumping ground of the production amalgamation Slantsekhim. Black smoke is belching out over the city, giving rise to people's concern. Chemical production wastes containing shale resin are on fire.

The efforts to put out the fire are complicated by the fact that it is difficult for machinery to approach the focus of the fire. All fire-fighting resources have been put to use. The servicemen of one of civil defence units of the Baltic military district have also come to the aid of fire fighters. The fire quenching headquarters is headed by Peeter Palu, deputy chairman of the Estonia Council of Ministers.

Specialists of the hydrometeorological and sanitary epidemiological service are constantly monitoring the content of harmful substances in the products of combustion. Their concentration, the chief sanitary physician of the city told a TASS correspondent, is on the verge of the maximum permissible level.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet on State Sovereignty
*LD2105151189 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America
0000 GMT 19 May 89*

[Summary] Here is a report on the Supreme Soviet session which took place yesterday, 18 May, 1989. Rima Jakutyte reports.

A declaration submitted by Romualdas Orolas was adopted by the session on the state sovereignty of Lithuania.

As this document is of great importance, R. Jakutyte read the whole text:

"The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Declaration on the State Sovereignty of Lithuania: The Lithuanian nation has been living here since ages ago on the coast of the Baltic sea. A state of its own was created in the 13th century. For hundreds of years Lithuania had protected her freedom and independence.

"In 1918 Lithuania restored its statehood, which was recognized by many world states. In 1920 the statehood of Lithuania was confirmed by Soviet Russia in a treaty which stated that all pretensions to the Lithuanian state and its territory had been repudiated.

"Although the treaty has still not been renounced, in 1940 under the German-Soviet Pact of 1939 and its supplementary secret protocols, the sovereign Lithuanian state was incorporated into the Soviet Union illegally and by force, and Lithuania lost her cultural, political and economic independence.

"Today even Lithuania's aspirations for her economic independence are ignored by the Soviet Union's government.

"The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic sees a solution to the present situation only by regaining state sovereignty, which has already become the aspiration of the Lithuanian nation and which is the inherent right of nations, which can be implemented only under conditions of the free self-determination of nations.

"The Supreme Soviet of Lithuania declares that from now on, after the introduction of a constitutional amendment to Article 70, only the laws adopted or approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic will be valid on the territory of Lithuania.

"Future relations with the Soviet Union and other states should be defined by the interstate treaties only.

"The above aspirations of the Lithuanian nation are not directed against the rights of other nations or their rightful interests.

"This was the declaration on Lithuania's state sovereignty."

This was followed by comments on the declaration made by various people.

Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, had this to say:

[Begin Brazauskas recording] "I can repeat what I said then, that we always have to take a firm step forward. To my mind, now the time has come when these amendments do not run counter to our present political life, and, of course, they boost our spirits, the spirits of the Lithuanian nation and all the people who live in Lithuania. I am sure that these amendments will play a positive role; these amendments will function legally in creating and adopting other laws.

"So, these steps are logical, right, and legally founded and, as you can see, these steps are supported by all Lithuania's people." [end recording]

The appeal to the Congress of People's Deputies and the Soviet Union's government has been adopted by the majority of votes.

Apart from other points mentioned it says: "Lithuania's Supreme Soviet appeals to the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies and the Soviet Union government, demanding a condemnation of the secret deals signed in 1939 and 1941 by the then Soviet Government, and wants them declared null and void from the moment they were signed."

People's Deputy on Lithuanian Independence Efforts
LD210514409 Vilnius in English in North America
2200 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] [Word indistinct], the publication of the Lithuanian reform movement, *Sąjūdis*, carries an article about the strive for independence, by (Alfredas) [name indistinct], the people's deputy of the Soviet Union. Here we present it slightly abridged.

[Second announcer] Here in Lithuania there is hardly a person who doubts the fact of the incorporation (reflected) in 1940. This incorporation was followed by the Stalinist policies of terrorism, which began 1940 and lasted nearly 10 years after the war. It cost Lithuania hundreds of thousands of lives. If Lithuania had joined the Soviet Union of its own free will there would have hardly been any need to exterminate such a large number of people. The character of the Stalinist terrorism is strongly reminiscent of a genocide in general and of the crimes of Pol Pot in Kampuchea and other totalitarian regimes in particular.

The forcible incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union has no legal force. Lithuania's international status now could be defined by a referendum under the supervision of representatives from the United Nations organization, or by a decision made by the meeting of representatives of the nation elected by our people on a democratic basis. This is the only way in which the issue of Lithuania's future status can be resolved, whether Lithuania remains part of the Soviet Union or prefers to build an independent state. The decisive act in this process is our determination and our will to fight for sovereign Lithuania. Moreover, the impact of the world's great powers creates chances for the Baltic nations to exercise their right to self-determination. Most Western states and the Vatican have never recognized the annexation of the Baltic states on 15 June 1940.

The issue of the Baltic states' independence is treated differently in the West. Let's take the meeting of the Sąjūdis leaders with the representatives of the European Parliament which was held in Vilnius. At this meeting the representatives of the European Parliament expressed the opinion that the Lithuanian independent state could be restored in stages, gradually, by reorganizing the Soviet Union into a union of sovereign republics. Some of the Sąjūdis people were against this proposal and presented a declaration in which the Lithuanian nation's desire to obtain independence was expressed clearly. It wants to obtain independence at once without the confederation stage. One of the representatives of the European Parliament rounded up his speech with an (invalid) question: What can independent Lithuania give to the world? The question deserves attention.

In the first place the very act of raising such a question is not fair because the European Parliament is not supposed to represent the world community. We fail to

understand why Lithuania and other Baltic states are commended the status of a dominion under the guidance of a metropolis. The Lithuanian nation which is now coming to [word indistinct] after so much suffering and bloodshed is like a patient who after his grave disease in the Stalinist prison is demanded to contribute to the world's economic, political and cultural potential. This is not normal. The Lithuanian nation must be given time to gain strength and the right to count on the help of other states and nations in its restoration period. We are not asking this though. We are ready to face hardships. We hope to cope with them although even now we are in a position to be of some use to Europe and the world at large.

The restoration of the Baltic nations' independence could extend the democratic territory in easterly Europe. This would favorably influence the normalization of East-West relations and create new opportunities for carrying on trade, cultural exchange, and (join in different developments). It is evident now that Lithuania's contribution to the sphere of sport is greater going by the Olympic results than that of Greece, Denmark, most south European and African states. Lithuanian literature, art, folk arts and crafts, and even science, can contribute to the world cultural heritage. If the neutral and free Lithuanian state is restored the leak of our intellectual resources to other countries will become (less). And last, but not least, the status of independence for the Baltic states would eliminate the bed of tension in eastern Europe, thus adding to the nuclear-free zone of the world.

By restoring ... independence in a sovereign state the Lithuanian nation would exercise its eternal right to enjoy freedom in the land of its ancestors, to perpetuate the honorable traditions of statehood, to create conditions for the raising generations' political, cultural and economic development, and for strengthening Lithuania in general. And this would go to strengthen the understanding of international justice which is so often violated today.

Lithuanian Party Historians View 1939-40 Events
PM1001112109 Vilnius SOVIETSKAYA LITVA
in Russian 21 Apr 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "View of 1939-1940 Events"]

[Text] On the initiative of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee a group of historians from the republic—Y. Karbauskienė, director of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Party History Institute; A. Lydonas, deputy director of the Academy of Sciences History Institute; and Ch. Baurba and V. Zhaibis, senior scientific workers at these institutes—visited the CPSU Central Committee. They familiarized themselves with materials relating to the main conceptual points of interpretation of the history of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia's entry into the USSR as prepared by the country's historians. In turn, our republic's scholars

submitted their own version. The materials prepared by the Muscovites were discussed at a conference hosted by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Degryates, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department.

Vanda Kashauskene told an ELTA correspondent about the conclusions that were reached:

"We were the first Baltic historians to familiarize ourselves with the materials prepared in Moscow. This shows that the CPSU Central Committee understands the efforts made by the republic party organization and the public demand for a political assessment to be made of the 23 August and 28 September 1939 treaties between the USSR and Germany and their additional secret protocols.

"Moscow already recognizes the existence of these protocols. Until now, as is well known, their existence was denied in every possible way. We agreed that the entire subsequent course of events confirmed what was contained in the secret agreements. This is a very important fact."

"The conclusion was reached that in the foreign policy sphere Stalin's diktat prevailed and Leninist principles were broken. The version we prepared stresses that Estonia (28 September 1939), Latvia (5 October 1939), and Lithuania (10 October 1939) were forced to sign mutual aid treaties with the USSR through diplomatic pressure. In them the USSR pledged not to interfere in the sovereign Baltic states' internal affairs. It was a question of mutual aid in the event of aggression and of economic and cultural cooperation. But subsequently, when the military-political situation in Europe deteriorated, the then leaders of the USSR started strengthening the country's security by incorrect and sometimes even flagrant means. One of these was the use of ultimatums presented to the Baltic states in June 1940.

"That is why the entire course of events during the summer of 1940 in the Baltics should be interpreted in an entirely different way. Recognizing in principle the USSR's influence over sociopolitical processes (the galvanization of the bourgeois opposition, the upsurge in revolutionary forces headed by Communists, and so forth) and the concomitant hopes of democratically minded sections of society, we must say that the decisions by Stalin's representatives V. Dekanozov, A. Vyshinsky, and A. Zhdanov had a decisive influence on the course of events that summer. The Stalinist leadership ignored recognized norms of international law with respect to the Baltic states.

"The materials prepared and now amplified by both sides will be discussed further and in all likelihood will subsequently be handed over to the higher authorities which make political, legal, and other decisions. On the other hand, it is necessary to shape public opinion (and not just in the Baltic region) on this question—one of the

most complex and dramatic periods in the history both of the Baltic states and of the USSR. Clearly, the time will come when the secret protocols to the 1939 agreements between the USSR and Germany will be denounced."

Seek Confirmation of Secret Protocols

*18001019 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 21 Apr 89 p 1*

[Article by A. Eydantas, candidate of historical sciences, docent, deputy director of the Lithuanian History Institute: "The Fact of the Secret Supplementary Molotov-Ribbentrop Protocols Will be Acknowledged" News Awaited by All Lithuania]

[Text] It may have seemed as though our historians, political journalists, writers and speakers, addressing the meetings of thousands of people in 1988, had already clearly and openly told the truth about the secret 1939-1941 additional protocols to the universally familiar pacts which were concluded between the USSR and Hitlerite Germany. In Lithuania probably no one doubts their existence. However, so far the USSR central press is either continuing to remain silent on this subject or else guardedly discusses one protocol or another. Nowhere as yet has the USSR officially confirmed their existence. Essentially, this fact is more frequently denied than confirmed.

A conference of delegations of history institutes from Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and the USSR (Moscow) was held in Tallinn on 23-24 February 1989. While their colleagues from Latvia and Estonia kept modestly silent, the representatives of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences History Institute (Candidate of Historical Sciences Gediminas Rudis and the author of these lines) submitted to a large team of Moscow historians, headed by Doctor of Historical Sciences A.I. Chubaryan, director of the USSR Institute of General History, their thoughts on this matter. On the basis of archives and other data gathered in Lithuania, my colleague G. Rudis and I substantiated the existence of secret protocols which predetermined the fate of the Baltic states and their becoming part of the USSR with the status of union republics. We believe that the presentation met with general approval. Citing unquestionable facts, G. Rudis exposed the groundlessness of the ultimatum addressed by the USSR to the Lithuanian government on 14 June 1940. After a meaningful exchange of views, the delegations of the institutes signed an appeal to the USSR Government with a request to allow the use of the entire set of archival documents, dispersed among various higher Moscow institutions, from the USSR Central Governmental Archives to the document repositories of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The ice seems to have broken on all levels, for even before this the group of Moscow historians there had been no doubt as to the existence and clear results of the Stalin-Hitler conspiracy.

On the request of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, we drafted our opinion on this matter and formulated in our document the fact that it was precisely the secret additional protocols to the treaties concluded between the USSR and Germany that predetermined the nature and development of events in Lithuania in 1940.

A document of a similar nature, this time for use by the Soviet leadership, was also drafted by associates of AG-Union institutes in Moscow. With the assistance of V. Balutanas, Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee secretary, a group of republic historians were asked to study the draft of the future statement. I emphasize the word *draft*.

Thus, several days ago, we, Professor V. Kashauskis, director of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Party History Institute, Ch. Basutis, candidate of historical sciences, and V. Zhalis and A. Erdintas, representatives of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences History Institute, went to Moscow. On 17 April, sponsored by CPSU Central Committee senior official Sigitas Kencius, with understandable anxiety, we started writing the text of the future draft document.

There was a sigh of relief after the document was read. Following a rather extensive verification part—an analysis of the international situation in 1938-1940, the international situation of the USSR, and a description of the aggressive policy of Hitlerite Germany toward the Baltic states, it was confirmed in black and white that a secret additional protocol had been appended to the Nonaggression Pact concluded between the USSR and Germany, according to which the USSR and Germany would divide between them areas of influence in Poland and the Baltic countries; the sphere of influence of the USSR included Finland, Estonia, Latvia and the eastern territories of Poland. Accordingly, Lithuania fell in the German sphere of influence. Yes! It is true that it was immediately emphasized that the original secret protocols were not found even in Moscow. It was pointed out, however, that the entire subsequent course of events and diplomatic correspondence confirmed the existence of such agreements.

This was also an acknowledgment of the additional secret protocol to the Treaty of Friendship and the Borders between the USSR and Germany, which was signed after the defeat of Poland, on 28 September 1939, according to which, in exchange for parts of Polish areas in the Lublin and Warsaw provinces, Lithuania fell in the sphere of influence of the USSR. It is true that the draft did not include yet another document proving that a small area of southeastern Lithuania was left at that time to Germany and it was only later that the USSR purchased it from Germany as per the treaty of 10 January 1941 for \$7.5 million. We added our postscript.

The draft of the document condemns the rapprochement between the foreign policies of Stalinism and Fascist Germany, and the means and methods used in the then foreign policy of the USSR. It openly claims that the ultimata addressed by the then USSR Government on 14-18 June 1940 to the governments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were a violation of diplomatic standards.

Naturally, not all postulates in the document coincide with our views. We had to emphasize that the nonaggression treaties between the USSR and the Baltic states in the autumn of 1939, were concluded by virtue of gross diplomatic and other pressure exerted by the Stalinists on the Baltic countries. At some points we expressed our amazement at the fact that the document discusses not sovereignty and then independent Baltic countries and violations of their sovereignty but only republics or peoples of the Baltic, and that the diktat exerted in the Baltic areas by V. Dekanozov, V. Vyshinskiy and A. Zhdanov—Stalin's envoys—is not reflected.

The fact, however, remains a fact. The secret protocols signed between the USSR and Hitlerite Germany will be acknowledged and unequivocally assessed. This will be the first official declaration made by Moscow on this matter. This will open for us entirely new opportunities to study and analyze this particularly painful problem of the 1939-1940 period, affecting the destiny of Lithuania.

Naturally, no one knows what the final text of this document will look like, after all the "siftings," and what its final draft will be. It is totally unclear whether our remarks will be taken into consideration and deemed substantiated. However, the delegation of republic historians drafted and left behind, in Moscow, its own version of the assessment of these events.

It is still too early to celebrate, for the sum of political assessments concerning the fate of the Baltic states and their current status remains unclear. In this brief and hasty report all we emphasize is the fact that the huge boulder is moving, albeit slowly, and that even the labor of Sisyphus is not always senseless.

Lithuanian Economic Autonomy Bill Published
LD1705109495 *Vilnius in English in North America*
2200 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] The draft law on Lithuania's economic autonomy was published on Sunday and it is expected that the law will be adopted at the parliament's Thursday session.

The draft speaks about economic autonomy, property and the management of state economy. So, the document outlines Lithuania's economic self-dependence.

It is stressed in the draft that Lithuania, as a sovereign state, must be free to implement its social and economic policy which answers the interests of the entire Lithuanian population. Under the draft, all economic and social questions are solved by the ruling organs of

Lithuania. Independent economic relations with other union republics are based on bilateral treaties. Economic relations are governed only by Lithuania's constitution and Lithuania's social and economic interests.

The objectives of economic self-dependence are aimed at protecting the individual's interests and his living standards. At the same time the laws must protect the satisfaction of the individual's cultural and spiritual needs. The economic relations will rest on the righteous property forms and market relations, free economic activities and the decentralization of economic management by the state regulation of the national economy as well as the openness of the economic relations at home and Lithuanian and foreign tourism.

Three forms of property are outlined: the property of the state, the property of a collective, and the property of a physical person. The latter term is quite new. Earlier we spoke about personal property but today the means of production are expected to be passed into the hands of individuals and their families. The individuals can also receive land for eternal use. The received land can be inherited and the receiver won't have to pay for it.

The Lithuanian state will possess all means of production which were built for state money. At the same time land, forests, air, water, and natural riches will belong to the state. The enterprises which are under Moscow's jurisdiction will be allowed to operate only under Lithuania's laws.

The draft law also speaks about Lithuania's financial contribution to the USSR budget. On banks and the monetary system Lithuania will have, for instance, the right to introduce its own monetary system.

The draft will be adopted if amendments are introduced to Lithuania's constitution which should raise Lithuania's laws above the Soviet laws. So, the item on constitutional amendments was included on the agenda of the forthcoming parliamentary session.

Lithuanian Komsomol Plans Youth Radio Station
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[From the "Events and Views" program presented by Vladimir Doblas and Lina Stonyte]

[Excerpts] When in the case of the press we can already speak of a pluralist approach of rivalry between state owned papers and those issued by various public movements, while the Lithuanian reform movement has recently founded an alternative news agency SIA [Sąjūdžio Informacinė Agentūra] ready to compete in accuracy and competence with the official news agency ELTA, the developments in the domain of the radio seem to be at its slowest. The only nationwide radio station in Lithuania is run by the state. [passage omitted]

Are there indications that alternative, independent radio stations will be set up in Lithuania? Hardly so at present. But there is one project which I would like to call an attempt in that direction.

In February, the Lithuanian youth daily published an item saying that the party Central Committee had approved the proposal to set up a new radio station in Vilnius which would be run by the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] organization. [passage omitted]

How does the necessity to start a new station arise? And why is it the Lithuanian Komsomol rather than any other organization or movement or just a group of enterprising people who became the initiators of the radio station which is in the making at present?

Here is how Rimasas Plešys explains it:

[Begin Plešys recording in Lithuanian fading into English translation] According to the founders of the new radio station Lithuanian radio services definitely are not doing justice to the interests and needs of the young people. At present only a few radio programs are devoted exclusively to the young generation. So, I consider that the time has come to start an original integral musical-publicistic program. [end recording] [passage omitted]

At first the youth radio station is going to give its programs only in the evening from 1800 till midnight. If everything goes smoothly the broadcasting time will certainly be extended. [passage omitted]

What particular programs are to be transmitted to attract the attention of the listener and what news, specific features is the youth station going to offer so as not to share the sad fate of the present Lithuanian radio home service? Many Lithuanians are very critical of the style of work and the standards of the programs that the Lithuanian radio home service presents. [passage omitted]

It is only logical that the new radio station will start broadcasting its programs on ultrashort frequencies because its only on these wavelengths that a perfect sound quality can be obtained. Unfortunately, Rimasas Plešys said, very few radio sets produced in this country have these wave bands. [passage omitted] We are negotiating to have a medium-wave frequency too, a frequency which is allowed by the International Telecommunications Union to Vilnius.

The authorities said, however, that there are no technical possibilities, as they put it, to settle the matter. That means that at the start only those who live around the capital Vilnius, will be able to hear the new station. [passage omitted]

Tbilisi Demonstrators Commemorate 9 Apr Deaths
LD1905180189 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT
19 May 89

[Text] Tbilisi May 19 TASS—In keeping with a Christian tradition, residents of the Georgian capital, Tbilisi, today marked the 40th day of the death of 19 people on the night of April 9 in front of the government headquarters.

Thousands of Tbilisi residents marched seven kilometers from the building of the medical institute to the city centre in reenactment of the peaceful demonstration of young people last April. A remembrance service was held at the Sion Cathedral by the primate of the Georgian church, Ilia II.

Backing the public initiative, the republican government called upon factory and office workers and intellectuals to hold a remembrance service and observe five minutes of silence in memory of the dead.

Baku Residents Lament Soldiers' Behavior in Tbilisi
PM1905145089 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 18 May 89 First Edition p 4

[Open letter from Baku inhabitants G.A. Apanasenko, V.I. Revazova, S.N. Alyamovskaya, and N.A. Sibayeva: "Passions Must Not Be Aroused"]

[Text] We would like to appeal to the writer B.L. Vasilyev, USSR people's deputy, through this newspaper.

Dear Boris Lvovich!

We wrote this letter after hearing your speech of 28 April 1989 on the program "Vaglyad." We understand your indignation about what happened in Tbilisi on 9 April. Yes, this is our grief, our common tragedy. But we want to pinpoint something: In what capacity were you in Tbilisi? You were representing a group of deputies, but you seemed to be an "outsider" who finds it difficult to understand what life is like in some republics at the moment.

Of course you know about what happened in Azerbaijan and Armenia in November and December 1988, and earlier in Sumgait. As indigenous inhabitants of international Baku who experienced these events, we are aware of the seriousness of what happened. We saw the brutal crowd of extremists who were fighting the troops and the militia. We saw the reaction of the soldiers and their tolerance and decisiveness in carrying out the orders they received. There was more tact and tolerance in their actions than the concrete situation demanded.

And how the extremists provoked the soldiers with the aim of getting them to fight back! But not one serviceman used weapons or raised his hand against the women.

The information coming from Tbilisi after the events which took place there can have no logical interpretation, and is incomprehensible. According to the official information that initially came from Tbilisi, the demands of those holding the rallies amounted to the overthrow of the state system, the republic's secession from the USSR, physical reprisals against Communism, and so on. If all this took place, we are not sure that you as a USSR people's deputy could have gone to Tbilisi and been so "warmly received."

Why didn't your fellow writers, who invited you, appeal to the crowd when they should have, but are instead appealing to you now? Yes, people died, innocent people! But all this could have been avoided, but for the hysteria that was fueled and provoked for days. And the emotions of a crowd are terrifying and its actions unpredictable. We know this from Baku.

So many unanswered questions have arisen that the temptation to lay all the blame on the soldiers has become a reality. We, too, feel human compassion for those who suffered in Baku and now in Tbilisi. But why is there such a large number of injured servicemen if they were not attacked with previously prepared instruments of violence?

We would like to ask you, Boris Lvovich, as a man and as a deputy: Why, having visited the hospitals where the wounded inhabitants of the city were, did you not even look in at the military hospital where the wounded soldiers were, if only out of curiosity?

These soldiers are not strangers. They are our children and yours, children of our common motherland and not the enemies whom you judged so harshly. You deemed it possible hastily to put all the blame on them. Yet there is an investigation in progress and the real culprits will be officially named.

The more you study the situation, the clearer it becomes that the events in the Transcaucasus are all links in a single chain. The "alarmed" criminal elite is fueling chauvinist frenzy and creating a base for extremist actions, and is distracting the attention of the people and the law enforcement organs from itself. This is why it would be very desirable for the voice of a well-known writer to be devoted to the struggle against the objective causes of what is happening, and not to the search for a "scapegoat."

Look at what is happening. The militia is turning out to be powerless in the face of the nationalist displays, crime, and gangsterism which have taken a hold on our cities. The only protection has turned out to be a thin line of soldiers, vulnerable in its youth and lack of training.

You, a man who understands the psychology of the soldiers of the Great Patriotic War and has written beautiful books on military and patriotic subjects, could

use your writer's talent and your authority to explain why the present generation of servicemen has to get involved in duties which are alien to them and who is to blame for this.

Yours sincerely,

G.A. Apanasenko, civil engineer

V.I. Revazova, designer

S.N. Alyamovskaya, art critic

N.A. Sibayeva, designer

Inhabitants of Baku

Georgia, Azerbaijan Approve Expansion of Links
LD1205122589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] The Communist Party Central Committees of Azerbaijan and Georgia have confirmed a set of jointly drafted basic guidelines for further expanding and reinforcing traditional Georgian-Azerbaijani links. The document has been published in the republican press.

In particular, they have decided to carry out exchanges of delegations between cities, rayons and enterprises in the fraternal republics in order to study advanced experience. Plans have been laid for social and political undertakings connected with historical and revolutionary dates, with the anniversaries of outstanding party and state figures, who made a substantial contribution to reinforcing the friendship between the Georgian and Azerbaijani peoples.

Measures have been determined for expanding cooperation in the spheres of science, education, literature, and art, and for intensifying cultural interaction and mutual enrichment. It has been decided to build culture centers of the Georgian and Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republics in Baku and Tbilisi. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1555 GMT on 12 May adds the following: "The possibilities for expanding the practice of mutual translation and publication of classics and the works of contemporary writers in the Georgian and Azerbaijani languages will be studied."] There are plans for expanding the exchange of television programs, for holding Baku-Tbilisi television link-ups, and for publishing joint issues of republican newspapers and journals. Communists, leaders of all ranks, creative unions, and editors of newspapers and journals have been instructed to draw up and begin implementing concrete, long-term plans for cooperation and interaction aimed at further reinforcing the traditional friendship between the fraternal peoples.

Azerbaijan Aktiv Discusses CPSU Plenum Results
PM1605150589 Moscow PRAVDa in Russian
12 May 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Aktiv Discussion"]

[Text] A meeting with the republic's party aktiv has been held at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. They discussed tasks to implement the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum and also summed up the results of the work of party and public organizations to hold elections of USSR people's deputies and holidays.

The need to strictly adhere to the CPSU's principled course in the sphere of interethnic relations, especially given the complex situation in the region, was stressed. The determination of the republic's labor collectives to step up their efforts in the struggle to fulfill 5-year plan targets and considerably increase the activeness of primary party organizations was noted.

Party committees should do everything to strengthen ties with grassroots components, help them master new forms and methods of working under conditions of democratization and glasnost, and boost the effectiveness of the educative process.

Stress was placed on the importance of developing the positive trend of ensuring a preferential increase in labor productivity as opposed to wages that has taken shape within the republic's economy. Special attention was devoted to the task of introducing progressive methods of organizing production.

The meeting participants spoke of the determination of Communists and all the republic's working people to steadily implement the party line toward the revolutionary renewal of society.

A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, spoke to the gathering.

Demonstrations Held in Yerevan Over NKAO
NC1905120789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
0425 GMT 19 May 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYTN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The capital [Yerevan] is once again in commotion, and emotions have once again become agitated. The news and information coming from Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NAKO] have deeply distressed all. The people have come out into the streets and despite the extraordinary situation in force in the city, meetings and processions are being organized.

In this regard, hundreds of people who are calling the editor are justified in demanding the reintroduction of the ["People's Views Column"] [word indistinct]. Under this rubric, worker Isperyan has also expressed his views.

He writes in particular: I cannot suppress my rage toward those individuals who are inciting the people to strike. Come to your senses! Today, when the whole world has come here to help our earthquake-stricken land, there can be no talk about a strike. We need other methods of struggle, and for that, cohesion is needed before everything else.

Vorotnikov Reviews Party Work in Leningrad

LD1805081289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] To elucidate the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum decisions, and to familiarize himself with the work of the Leningrad Party organization and local soviets, Comrade Vorotnikov was in Leningrad on the Neva on 16-17 May.

He visited a number of enterprises of industry, agriculture, trade, and cultural establishments and held numerous discussions with the working people. Comrade Vorotnikov met USSR People's Deputies elected in Leningrad and in the oblast and members of the executive committees of the oblast and city soviet and the party aktiv.

Lukyanov Meets Veterans' Organization Deputies

PM1705131589 Moscow PRA1DA in Russian
17 May 89 Second Edition p.2

[TASS report: "Meeting With Deputies"]

[Text] A meeting of USSR people's deputies from the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans was held 16 May in Moscow. They have received 75 seats in the country's supreme organ of power. The gathering centered their attention on questions of preparing for the impending USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered a report on the results of the elections, the tasks facing people's deputies, and the organization of work at the congress. He dwelt in detail on the principles of the activity of the country's supreme organ of power and the questions it is to resolve.

A.I. Lukyanov expressed the conviction that the veterans' energy and experience of life will be channeled into solving the main tasks facing the country. He answered numerous questions from deputies.

The meeting submitted a candidacy for the USSR Congress of People's Deputies Credentials Commission.

Biryukova Visits Ryazan Oblast Enterprises

LD1605191289 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 16 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast. A. Naymushin video report]

[Excerpts] Comrade Biryukova was in Ryazan Oblast on 15 and 16 May.

[Naymushin] The light industry of this ancient land is growing and being modernized. Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova visited Ryazan Tannery. [passage omitted]

Comrade Biryukova noted the high level of equipment and technological processes, commensurate with world-wide standards. The main thing is to put these to skillful use, to get things going in an enterprising spirit right from the start, and to gain access to foreign markets. It is satisfying that the works will not harm the environment. The production process is ecologically pure.

Leather produced at the works is delivered to Ryazan Footwear Works. The works is old, but technical progress has made it modern. Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova expressed interest in what the range of output is like. Twenty-five types of shoes are produced here, for women, men, and children. The shoes are good, but even better ones should be made. [passage omitted]

These elegant men's shirts are the new production of the Ryazan Clothing Production Association. Its production lines daily produce 100,000 various goods. [passage omitted] Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova visited the Association's shops. Its work, like the work of the Tannery Works and the Footwear Works, is evidence of a real movement toward a market economy, through difficulties and through overcoming old habits.

During his visits to the oblast's other enterprises and shopping centers there was talk about the necessity to make production work for the requirements of people and to make the economic reform more thoroughgoing. [video shows A.P. Biryukova visiting various plants]

Baklanov Visits Penza Oblast Bicycle Factory

LD1505214689 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 15 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov is in Penza Oblast. Our correspondent S. Slipchenko reports:

[Slipchenko] This visit opens a series of working meetings of party and government leaders, devoted to the results of this year's April plenum, with people from the most varied regions of the country. The first acquaintance was with the Frunze production association and its museum. This, one of Penza's oldest enterprises, was founded in 1915, and it could be said that the town's

industry, which was the principal one of the area at that time, began here. And it was here, in the museum, that the working tone of the whole visit to the oblast was set. The factory currently produces 1 million bicycles annually, which is about 30 percent of the overall production volume. This is extremely small, and, as you know, there is a shortage of any kind of bicycle in the country at the moment, whether they are sports or road models.

Leaving the museum, Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov placed an entry in the merited visitors' book. The works collective has been requested to produce more bicycles.

Here is the mechanical production shop. It is clear how the people work here—in different ways: there are modern machine tools, which break down, but here is a grinding machine of the past century, and it is still working.

And how do the workers live? The main problem, as it transpired from all the conversations, was the problem of housing.

One might ask why a CPSU Central Committee secretary is so heavily involved in a problem like a shortage of bicycles. Because hidden behind this are much more important problems—production inflexibility, backwardness of technology and—the main thing—stagnant thinking. In the factory the technology is 30 years old and the labor is manual. Without even putting up new buildings, but simply changing the technology, labor productivity could be raised two, three, or even more times in certain operations, and output of ready-made production increased.

In the shops—and not just the factory shop—all the basic food products are present. There are no ration cards in the oblast, except for sugar.

A so-called Soviet of Production Commanders was held at the association today. The future depends on them. The conversation was a sharp one.

[Begin recording] [Baklanov] Your economy here is something of an abnormal one. You produce a bicycle, but it carries with it unpleasant things economically. How can one understand that? I realize, of course, that these technical manufacturing deficiencies affect the economy, but in any case no bicycle should have a 2-percent profitability rating.

[Unidentified voice] [words indistinct]

[Baklanov] What?

[Unidentified voice] Nine.

[Baklanov] Well, it may be nine now, but, in general, it is abnormal.

[Unidentified voices] [passage indistinct]

[Baklanov] Listen, look, you keep the whole of your collective in that one factory, is that right? That won't do. Even a blind man can see that the first thing to do is to provide housing [words indistinct]. Just look at what is going on in these buildings of yours! You have women sitting at primitive equipment turning out mass production, yet you still ask for such-and-such a building to be constructed. Why put questions like that? [end recording]

[Slipchenko] Well, the task being set now is a specific one—to produce a draft for reconstruction work within 3 months.

Continues Factory Visit

LD1605212189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 16 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] We have just received a report about Comrade Baklanov's stay in Penza Oblast.

[Slipchenko correspondent] At the scientific research institute the latest Soviet developments were on display. But what is interesting is that the scientists are doing all they can, and they can do a great deal—processors, micro-circuits, pulse-driven synchronous engines, and the most modern methods of recording and storing information have been developed here, along with laser technology, discs, and memory storage devices of various volumes. Today intellect has already been invested in that. That will determine the country's potential tomorrow. [video shows scenes inside the factory] The factory in Penza has been under construction for more than 4 years now. In the model one can see the whole of it, but the model stands in the only section where equipment is being inspected for quality. One can judge the size of the workshop from the fact that people move about here on bicycles and talk to each other on walkie-talkies. I have never seen a production facility like this in our country before. Flexible production lines, automated storerooms, and all this should work better than Swiss watches. The main thing must be an extremely high standard of production processes. The factory which determines the country's development should be commissioned, according to the schedule, at the end of this year.

But when we went into the neighboring workshop, Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov spotted a heap of crates piled up by the wall. [video shows Baklanov with a group of people in muddy yard, open to the sky, with crates and other objects strewn about] You see, there should no longer be any crates. It is already time that the equipment was standing in the workshops.

[Begin Baklanov recording] What's this, can't you find a more suitable equipment at your factory? Gold has been paid for it. You understand, everything is just lying there in the rain. All the polyethylene sheets are torn. Later you will be looking for radical solutions.

[Unidentified speaker] No, we won't be looking for radical solutions.

[Baklanov] In general that should become—you listen to me—should be made public, should be subjected to investigation at the collegium of the ministry; someone should be made to answer for such a mess, you understand, such a shocking state of affairs. And I shall ask the party oblast committee to examine this question. What is the meaning of this? What does it really mean? Is that clear? [end recording]

The builders explained later that the crates did not contain machine tools bought for gold, but scrap metal. But what kind of standards can one talk about when there are no roads by a high precision production facility, no covered warehouses? Now the time has come for responsibility, specific actions, and solutions. But here the workshop stands ready, but empty. And in the other one there is no one to work at a time when the country is awaiting electronic technology.

This afternoon Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov inspected the computer and electronic machine factory where Soviet supercomputers are produced.

Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov laid flowers on the monument to Lenin's parents, Ilya Nikolayevich Ulyanov and Marie Aleksandrovna Blank. The monument stands in front of the building of the museum that the guests visited. [passage omitted]

Deputy Minister Denies Salt, Match Ration Plans
PM1805081489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report on interview with S. Aleshin, USSR deputy minister of trade, by R. Ignatyev under the rubric "Rumors and Facts"—"Salt Coupons" Anxious Readers Ask, "Never" the USSR Deputy Minister of Trade Answers"—date and place not given]

[Text] Recently a rumor went around that salt and matches would soon disappear from the stores and be distributed from now on by coupons. This is why some people started quickly buying up these goods in great quantities and trying to build up supplies for future use. Our correspondent asked S. Aleshin, USSR deputy minister of trade, to comment on the situation.

[Aleshin] As far back as last year, there were similar phenomena in Kazakhstan, the Baltic states, and several regions of Russia. Then people started panicking in Gorkiy, Orenburg, Tambov, Leningrad, and some cities in the Ukraine. Now, there is a stir over salt and matches in Moscow.

It is difficult to say where all these rumors are coming from. I declare with authority that there is more than enough salt and matches in our country. For example today we have a 192-day supply of salt, which is more

than 1 million tonnes, just in retail trade enterprises. Moreover, all the enterprises which supply salt are operating continuously. Salt is reaching the shops.

Admittedly, in connection with the situation that has unfolded, we have had to send three to five times more of the product than usual to some parts of the country. As a rule, the demand for salt increases in the fall when the population makes pickles and sauerkraut. Then sales go up by 20-25 percent. But now, because of the panic, in Moscow alone the stores are having to sell 800-1,000 tonnes of salt a day instead of 90 tonnes.

I can assure you, we will provide as much salt as is required. There are no restrictions on the sale of salt. There is no question of having coupons for salt and matches, as we produce more than enough of these products. As can be seen in practice, any publicity on this type of "shortage" is immediately counterproductive and then we really do get shortages of the product for a long time. Let us hope that this time good sense prevails, and we do not create a new problem out of nothing.

At present the stir caused by salt and matches in the provinces is quieting down. I think that in the next few days the situation will be normalized everywhere.

Komsomol Plenum Discusses Draft Law on Youth
PM1705162389 KOMSOMOLSKAYA PR. (VD) in Russian 17 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Plenum Will Examine Draft"]

[Text] A joint session of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee Bureau and the Komsomol Central Committee commission on the preparation of the USSR draft law on young people was held 16 May. Members of the bureau, USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol, ministry and department leaders, and prominent scientists took part in the discussion. Afterward a decision was adopted to broadly accept the draft in light of the remarks and proposals expressed and to submit it for examination by the Seventh Komsomol Central Committee Plenum.

New Edition of Central Committee Magazine Outlined
LD1705183289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1530 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] The fifth edition of the magazine IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS [NEWS OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE] has come out and is being sent out to subscribers. It opens with a report on the work of the party's Central Committee in April, the main event of which was the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. At this plenum topical political, socioeconomic and ideological problems at the contemporary stage of restructuring, and also several organizational questions about the Central Committee's activity, were considered. The magazine gives information about changes in the Central Committee staff and the party's Central Auditing Commission

staff, and gives short biographies of new CPSU Central Committee members. Under the "At the Readers' Request" heading of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS, an interview with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is printed. He talks about himself, about his family, and about his work conditions, his way of life and leisure. The magazine also writes about the regular meetings of the CPSU Central Committee International Policy Commission, about the work of the party Control Committee attached to the CPSU Central Committee, and about the party rehabilitation of persons who were involved in the affair of the so-called anti-soviet, right-Trotskyist bloc [anti-sovetskii pravo-trotskyiskii blok]. Material is also published on other subjects.

Russian Orthodox Church Paper Launched

LD1905131189 Moscow in English to North America
2:00 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] The Russian Orthodox Church has launched a paper called TSERKOVNYY VESTNIK. More from assistant editor-in-chief, (Aleksandr Makarov) aged 35, an engineer by training, who has contributed to religious publications for more than 10 years and finished a theological seminary.

[Begin (Makarov) recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] It's the paper which the Russian Orthodox Church has been denied since 1918 when all church publications were closed. The church needs it badly. The first issue of what is to be a weekly came out in 50,000 copies. The only problem we face is paper shortage: We need from 150,000 to 200,000 copies to meet requests from church activists, priests, and church wardens. Metropolitan Pitirim is editor-in-chief. We expect subscriptions will be accepted as of next year.

The front page is official, to cover key church events, the service of Patriarch Pimen for instance. On the same page we announce church assignments and the opening of more cathedrals. Besides, we report the Holy Synod's meeting and the appointment of Russian Orthodox Church bishops and we have essays, reports, interviews, answers to questions, and international news. [end recording]

Empowerment of 'Soviet Parliament' Urged

18001055 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian 17 May 89 p 10

[Article by V. Danilenko, doctor of jurisprudence, professor "How I Envision the Soviet Parliament"]

[Text] Time is hurrying restructuring, and political reform is entering a new phase. The electoral marathon is behind us. USSR people's deputies will gather at their first congress in Moscow on 25 May.

One thing is coming to an end and another is beginning. And it is no accident that side by side on the pages of the newspaper today are a list of questions on the results of

the elections, reflections on the status of the future of the Supreme Soviet, a discussion of the business meetings of the deputy... Not only time, but we ourselves, the people, are hurrying restructuring.

Restructuring has stepped up the pace of political life a great deal. Elections, repeat voting, repeat elections... For half a year passions have been raging, sometimes reaching an extremely heated pitch, and there are conflicts of interests, views, and positions of people who are not indifferent to the outcome of the transformations that have been started in the country. But now all the ballots have been counted and the new deputies have been named. One would think that the time has come when the tension of the struggle could subside. A deceptive impression! The elections have passed but the political process continues, a democratic and open process of the kind our political and legal practice has never before known. Not only has the battle not ended. It seems to me that it is just entering its decisive phase and we must be fully aware of this.

As a result of the elections we have received a new body of deputies which is significantly different from pre-restructuring times. It has almost no representatives of the higher levels of the administrative apparatus—heads of ministries and departments. Social organizations have been given independent representation. The proportion of party members has increased appreciably. There are many more representatives of the intelligentsia, including journalists, scientific workers, and figures in literature and art. One can say without exaggeration that today we have one of the most highly educated groups of deputies in the world. Among the current deputies there are fewer who are always ready for "unanimous approval" and more people who are seriously concerned about restructuring. In a word, the intellectual and political potential of the new deputy corps is immense. But potential is still not action. Potential can remain unrealized or far from fully realized. For it is not only a matter of the desire of the deputies. It is a matter of the opportunities they are granted by the existing political institutions.

We are now coming right up against the basic problem of the current stage of the political struggle—the struggle for radical transformations in the activity of our parliament. It is a battle that is no less important because many fundamental issues here are still unresolved. The general direction of the transformations were earmarked by the 19th All-Union Party Conference: to transform the USSR Supreme Soviet into the central unit of the state mechanism with real authority. To transform means to realize this general direction in legal norms and provide for real democracy in the activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

It would be hard to assume that the development of the corresponding norms would take place smoothly and without conflict. The stakes are too high—the conservatives (and I think they are to be found even among the

deputies) will not fail to subject the rules of parliamentary procedure to their own interests. Of course, they are not capable of halting the process of democratization that has begun. But they can retard it and lessen the consequences that are dangerous to themselves—for example, in solving problems of the legislative initiatives of the deputies, in authoring legislation, in the openness of the legislative procedure. Let us recall the heated and lengthy debates on procedural issues that developed in the *okrug* electoral meetings and how interests clashed at that time. The importance of the forthcoming debates is incomparably greater.

Moreover, in my opinion, we must not underestimate the inertia of "apparatus democratization" whereby the reform of parliamentary procedure is prepared in the "traditional" way—for the deputies, but without them and in their place. There is no question that the framework for the democratic procedure is binding. But it should be made up of rules and norms that are developed and approved by the deputies themselves. This is the only way it is possible to guarantee real democratization, real leadership by the deputies who have been elected by the people and are authorized to speak on their behalf. There should be no other power over them than the power of their own, democratically adopted decisions.

What, in my view, are the basic directions of the transformations of parliamentary procedure? First of all, I assume that structural changes are needed—the creation of commissions and committees which would expand the spheres of parliamentary activity and eliminate zones that were previously closed to us. This should pertain primarily to defense, security, military allocations, military construction, space programs.

I would just like to warn against the use of the term "state security" as the name of the corresponding committee. It has been discredited in the eyes of public opinion for too long by bourgeois propaganda. It would be better to introduce the more generally accepted term—"national security."

The creation of new commissions, however, is only half of the matter. It is necessary to develop legal regulations for their functions. It seems to me that they should definitely include the following: legislative planning functions which presuppose, along with others, the right to legislative initiative and the right to address the committee for constitutional supervision; the supervisory function, the right to supervise the actions of the government, to make requests of it, to call upon officials of any rank, and so forth; the coordination function, which provides for effective interconnection between the commission and various state and social organizations; and finally the consultative function. Of course at the same time all commissions will have the right to bring their own initiatives into the sphere of competence assigned to them.

I emphasize that separate attention should be given to the budget prerogatives of the commissions. The right to establish a budget is one of the strongest instruments of parliamentary control over the actions of executive power. The restoration of this possibility to the USSR Supreme Soviet would be an important reform step. The commissions should analyze in detail the budget demands of the corresponding departments, turning them over along with their conclusions to the plenary meetings of parliament, and it is the commissions that should check on the execution of the budget of the departments over the past year and make a public evaluation of it.

Regulating the work of permanent commissions should envision a reliable mechanism for public hearings. During the course of these the deputies could comprehensively discuss the questions that have been placed on the agenda, hear all the arguments "for" and "against," evaluate alternative variants, subpoena any workers of the apparatus if necessary, and demand any information. And the law must clearly establish that the refusal to give information or to restrict it is a violation of the law and, consequently, guilty parties can be brought to the most serious official accountability.

It would apparently also be expedient to create commissions for ethics and fighting against corruption. The need for this is dictated by the egregious cases of corruption and abuses by highly placed officials that have now been made public.

It is not difficult to foresee the possible objections. After all, there is a party Control Committee in existence. Yes, there is. But this is control along the party line which by no means rules out control along the line of the USSR Supreme Soviet, especially now when we are raising the question of the clear delimitation of the functions of party and state agencies. Moreover, an encroachment here on the prerogatives of the deputies would undoubtedly undermine the principle of the leadership of parliament. And problems of fighting corruption and abuses cannot, incidentally, remain beyond the sphere of attention of the people's representatives.

In addition to structural changes, a radical reorganization of the entire legislative process in the USSR Supreme Soviet is of principal significance. Its current shortcomings are generally known. It is confusing and complicated and anonymous. The preparation of draft legislation is controlled by the management apparatus and the bureaucracy. The role of the deputies is frequently limited almost to automatic approval of the questions that are placed on the agenda.

I am convinced that most of the work of preparing draft legislation will be gradually shifted to the parliament and its working agencies since it is now becoming a permanent agency. The deputies will have the opportunity actually to take advantage of their right to legislative initiative. The legislative process should become public.

The public should know the names of the instances of one draft law or another, the experts working on the text, and the positions of the deputies during the course of decisionmaking.

The legislative procedure itself, in my opinion, should consist of at least two stages. The first stage (the first reading) should be the official presentation of the draft law for discussion in one of the houses of parliament. The main thing here is to clarify the expediency of taking this step. This first stage of legislation is clearly inadequate in our country. The public frequently remains ignorant about the draft laws that are being prepared and has no opportunity to express an attitude toward them, not to mention influence their content.

After the first reading the draft law should be turned over to the appropriate parliamentary commissions for careful development and then to the Committee for Constitutional Supervision in order to clarify the extent to which it corresponds to the USSR Constitution. Only after this are public debates on the draft legislation (second reading) and voting organized in plenary meetings of the houses. I think that only this kind of procedure can insure quality of the legislative act and correspondence to the interests of the people.

The question of delimiting the competence between the two chambers, the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities, requires careful development. Here I would like to suggest the following as one of the possible alternatives. Today constitutional logic is not altogether consistent. The legislature, on the one hand, strives to provide for completely equal rights of the chambers, establishing the right of each to consider any questions, and on the other hand he tries to introduce specialization. To be sure, he does this extremely cautiously and half-heartedly and is essentially restricted by a list of issues which are considered primarily in the Council of Nationalities—those concerning national equal rights, a combination of the interests of the national units and state interests, improvement of the corresponding legislation (Article 116 of the USSR Constitution). Would it not be better to have consistent specialization of the chambers, having clearly defined their areas of competence?

Such an alternative completely precludes the overlapping prerogatives and duplication of activity of the chambers that inevitably accompanies this, as well as possible conflicts in this area, which are even more undesirable against the background of the current tension in international relations. And not only is the principle of complete equal rights of the chambers not undermined, but on the contrary its unwavering observance is strengthened.

Moreover, it becomes possible (since each chamber will handle its own range of issues) to have a mechanism of mutual approval of the decisions made by the chambers—a mechanism which stabilizes parliamentary

activity and, what is essential, expands the rights of the union republics, contributing to fair regulation of interethnic relations.

On the one hand, only the Council of Nationalities will consider all issues (on both a union and republic scales) related to the development and improvement of interethnic relations in the USSR, their legal regulation, and their daily practice. On the other hand, the Council of Nationalities will actually participate in the consideration of all other issues pertaining to the competences of the Council of the Union, having the right to approve the decisions made by it (which has never before been the case in our politico-legal practice). This right, of course, is balanced by a corresponding right of the Council of the Union to approve all decisions made by the Council of Nationalities. The parliamentary mechanism as a whole will be legally balanced and the interests of the two sides will be guaranteed.

Of course, with all this it will be necessary to shift the focus in the functioning of the Council of Nationalities. It will be necessary for it to be not only an instrument of central authority in the regulation of interethnic relations (here the cautiousness of the union republics with respect to it will be difficult to overcome). It is necessary for it also to become an instrument of the union republics in the capital by means of which they can find optimal paths of development of interrelations between the union and the republics and also regulate problems that arise among the union republics themselves. The object of the attention of the Council of Nationalities here should be the entire range of issues related to the life activity of the union republics, including regional cost accounting, distribution of productive forces, the assimilation of the natural resources of the territory of the republic, and questions of republic citizenship, language, national culture, traditions.

Each union republic and the interests of the union as a whole will stand to gain from this type of arrangement.

The activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet when preparing the new regulation should be made public. And again the essence of the problem is not in principle (nobody questions it any more today) but in the legal and institutional means of realizing this principle. Previously the USSR Supreme Soviet had no such means. Incidentally, there was no particular reason to notify anybody of its activity either (taking into account its limited nature and volume). Today the situation is changing radically.

The volume of parliamentary activity is expanding many times over for now the parliament will be permanently functioning. Its nature is also changing. Here issues of exceptional state importance will be discussed and resolved, and they will be resolved during the course of business, most likely heated, discussions. The overall role of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the political system is increasing sharply since it is becoming a real center of power, considerably more political significance is

attached to information about what is happening behind its walls, and this is equally true for both the Soviet and the international community.

In other words, it will be necessary to create our own mechanism for preparing, systematizing, and disseminating information. The legal basis for this mechanism should be the norms of the regulations of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the regulations of the commissions and committees, and the status of the people's deputies, who are establishing glasnost as the fundamental principle of their activity. I see as the leading unit of the information system the press service of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which has highly skilled personnel and modern means of communications. One of its immediate duties is regular (weekly) during periods of parliamentary sessions) press conferences for Soviet and foreign journalists.

Understandably, the issues that have been mentioned do not exhaust all the aspects of the reorganization of parliamentary activity. Having gotten down to work, the deputies, taking current political practice into account, of course will raise other organizational and legal issues as well. There is only one path: further deepening of the democratization of the political system and its subordination to the interests of man, on whose behalf restructuring was actually begun.

Supreme Court Official Discusses Rise in Crime
18070280 Moscow PRATDIA in Russian
15 May 89 Second Edition p. 3

[Article by Ye. Smolentsev, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court. "Who Is on the Top of the Pyramid"]

[Text:] As we know, last year there was a significant increase in crime after it had been stable for a number of years or had even decreased. Based on this, attempts are being made to link the crime-causing situation with the democratization of social life and the humanization of the criminal policy.

But an analysis of multifaceted information and not just statistical data makes it possible to draw the conclusion that this judgment is questionable, to say the least. Without claiming to give complete proof of the causes of the negative changes taking place in the dynamics of crime, I should like to express certain considerations regarding this.

Unfortunately, the basic condition for a successful fight against legal violations—the inevitability of being held accountable for committing crimes—has been violated increasingly over the past years. Thus, last year in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] 705,000 crimes were registered which had no suspects and needed to be solved. And only every second one of them was solved. And yet it is known that a crime that is not solved promptly only encourages a person to commit more, frequently more serious crimes, and frequently

contributes to drawing other people into criminal activity. As an example I shall refer to a criminal case which was recently examined by the Moscow Oblast Court.

A certain Kerkshin was serving time for his crime in the city of Kursk. He fled from there and hid out in Moscow, mainly in the apartment where he had lived before his conviction. In 15 months he committed 90 apartment thefts, costing the citizens a total of more than 200,000 rubles. All of the thefts were promptly reported to the police, but Kerkshin continued to go unpunished and was arrested only after he had killed two women.

Of course this case is exceptional in criminal and legal practice, but it clearly reflects the weak sides of our current investigatory service which, although it is certainly not small in numbers, is, as the operations workers themselves say, poorly supplied with technical equipment, organizationally imperfect, and to a considerable degree staffed with poorly trained workers.

Our unfavorable position in the fight against people with a parasitic lifestyle exerts a certain influence on the dynamics of crime. While before 1985 people guilty of vagrancy, panhandling, and other parasitic lifestyles were inevitably brought to account and punished, thus preventing more dangerous crimes, in recent years considerably less attention has been paid to this problem. Last year, for example, every fifth or sixth person convicted was not working or going to school anywhere at the time the crime was committed.

Another serious cause of crime is widespread drunkenness. According to data of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], 61 percent of the crimes investigated on the territory of the Russian Federation were committed by people who were intoxicated. Therefore the battle against drunkenness and dissolute behavior has been and still is one of the problems on which society must be constantly working.

To a certain degree the increase in the crime rate also followed on the heels of the release of many tens of thousands of convicts because of amnesty. This is shown, in particular, by the fact that repeated crimes increased by more than 5 percent during this time.

Taking into account the circumstances that have been mentioned as well as many others, the solution to the problem of fighting crime makes it necessary to improve the forms of activity of law enforcement agencies and to look for new, more effective ones. In this connection I should like to support the suggestion that the entire investigation staff be made into a separate department. Its creation would have a positive effect not only on the quality of the investigation itself, but also, and to no less a degree, on the quality of procurator supervision of the investigation. And under these conditions militia agencies could devote more attention to operational investigation work.

Some readers ask: Is it up to the author of these lines to delve into questions of the work of investigatory agencies, is this his business? But the court is far from indifferent to the way the preliminary investigation agencies do their work for high quality of their work helps the court significantly in resolving the case correctly.

Speaking of our legal system I should like to emphasize quite definitely that abstract humanism is alien both to criminal legislation and to the practice of its application. For the more dangerous crimes—premeditated murder, banditry, mugging, rape, deliberate severe bodily harm—imprisonment of the guilty parties not only prevails, but exceeds 90 percent. Moreover, the death penalty is applied for premeditated murder with aggravating circumstances. And the lengths of the sentences assigned to dangerous criminals have by no means been reduced in recent years. Thus, while in 1982 35.8 percent were sentenced to 3 to 15 years in jail, in 1988 42.4 percent were.

In a word, the protection of the society from serious crimes and dangerous criminals is by no means letting up. At the same time we have confirmed the correctness of the policy that has been observed in legislation in recent years whereby there is strict differentiation of responsibility and an individual approach to assigning sentences to specific people for specific crimes. It reflects the essence of the modern crime policy which is directed, on the one hand, toward reducing repressive measures and, on the other, toward maintaining more stable law and order and reliable protection of the interests of society and its members.

Under the conditions of restructuring and democratization of all aspects of the life of our society we cannot but take into account the fact that excessive criminalization of deeds and the establishment of only strict sanctions for committing them cause not only moral, but also significant material harm to the society, if only because a significant number of citizens are excluded from the sphere of public labor in this way. Demonstrating the need to reduce punishments for crimes, K. Marx wrote: "The wise legislator prevents crime so that there will be no need to punish for it.... But if the state is not humane, rich, or magnanimous enough for this, then at least it is the undoubted duty of the legislator not to turn into a crime that which is by nature a misdemeanor...."

Summing up what has been said, I cannot agree with those who see making punishment more severe as the solution to the problem of fighting crime. Life and judicial practice have convincingly shown that the severity of the punishment, when it is not appropriate for the act that has been committed, can lead and has led to extremely negative consequences.

Still I consider it premature to abolish the death sentence for people who have committed premeditated murder with special cruelty, in such a way that the lives of many people are endangered, when there have been several

victims, and also when the murder involves rape and so forth. In these cases, to abolish this measure would be inhumane with respect to society as a whole. And one must not fail to take into account that it acts as a deterrent and thus contributes to the general prevention of premeditated murder.

The question of competitiveness and equality of sides in the judicial process is extremely important for real justice. But can one really speak about equal rights of the "sides" in the process when the prosecutor, in addition to the function of proving the accusation, is assigned the function of ensuring legality in the examination of the case in court? This contradicts the principle of independence of the court and raises the prosecutor above it.

During the first years of Soviet power the position of the prosecutor was defined in keeping with Leninist principles expounded in the letter "On 'Dual' Jurisdiction and the Law." Lenin wrote that the prosecutor's supervision has no administrative authority nor any decisive voice; that the only right and duty of the prosecutor is to turn the case over for the decision of the court.

As early as 1933, at Stalin's suggestion, the TsIK [Central Executive Committee] and the SNK [Council of People's Commissars], when instituting the USSR Procurator, decreed that it be assigned the function of "checking on the correct and consistent application of the laws by court institutions of the Union republics." But this directly contradicted the USSR Constitution of 1924; it was not subsequently coordinated with the 1936 Constitution, and it does not agree with articles 153 and 164 of the current USSR Constitution.

Many are insisting that we create a jury court. This suggestion seems unacceptable. For jurors, regardless of the nuances in the structure of courts of one country or another, have extremely limited rights. In court they are silent; their right and duty is merely to observe what goes on in the sessions and to answer one question: Guilty or not guilty?

Those who criticize the institution of people's assessors in its present form usually assert that they have many rights, but they far from always exercise them because, since they are not professionals, they rely on the authority of the judge. But if one were to introduce the jury system they would be made up basically of people who are not legally well informed. This means that the task is to improve the qualitative composition of the elected people's assessors.

At the same time I agree with considerations in favor of expanding the numerical composition of the people's assessors to four persons in combination with one judge or three persons in combination with two permanent judges.

We cannot speak about the independence of the courts until we solve the problem of creating for them normal working conditions that correspond to their position and proper material support, until we increase the salaries of court workers, which today are considerably below the average for the country.

It is also difficult to get around the question of expanding the sphere of activity of the bar. This is not simply a question of the resources and rights of the lawyers; it is a question of guarantees of legality and of strengthening the legal protection of members of our society. We need strong, highly skilled defense not only in court, but also in the earlier stages of investigation, not after it is completed. This would be one more guarantee against investigatory and judicial error.

On the basis of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, one can hope that with the implementation of the ideas concerning a radical judicial-legal reform our court will indeed become the central agency of the system of social control and will assume a position appropriate to this. This is extremely necessary because for a long time before the 27th CPSU Congress negative tendencies were increasing in the system of legal agencies. Judges were increasingly losing their independence and were assigned a secondary role in the system of law enforcement agencies. If we really want to place it at the top of the entire legal pyramid then first of all we must envision in deeds and not just words guarantees which would provide it with true independence of any agencies whatsoever.

Communists Urged Always To Speak Truth

PM1905153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[Yuri Makhlin article under the "Publicist's Notes" rubric: "Stand Up and Speak Out"]

[Text] What could be easier for a Communist than to stand up and speak the whole truth? After all, the CPSU Statutes state in black and white: "The party member is obliged: to develop criticism and self-criticism; to expose shortcomings boldly and seek to eliminate them; to combat ostentation, conceit, and smugness...." Obligated: A precious word, is it not? It is both an immutable party demand, the ethical norm for every Communist, and a political principle. This is the main Law of our party's life from the very beginning. Criticism, according to Lenin, is the duty of the revolutionary. There is nothing more vile than smug optimism.

Many readers begin their letters to PRAVDA by recalling those behests of Lenin's and then, as though in league with one another, they assert unanimously (and does that unanimity not bother you in an era when pluralism of opinions is all the rage?) that principle and boldness of thought have always been the domain of the courageous, the steadfast, and the bold. And theirs alone!

Well, a poet once stated, and with good reason:

There was a scientist—a contemporary of Galileo—who was no less intelligent than Galileo. He knew that the earth went round the sun, but he....

But he lacked the valor and heroism to defend the Truth. He did. And we party members, are we brave enough to fight for the truth? All the time?

"They are brave after the event!"—hundreds of letter writers address their criticism to publicists who now daringly brand people and reveal the shortcomings...of days gone by. But in those selfsame days they were renowned as the most zealous and servile eulogists of the status quo. For example, of Brezhnev and his era of stagnation, and of universal idleness.

When listing the "hacks from the kingdom of distorting mirrors," the hypocrites, the opportunists, readers cite with admiration the names of those who showed fortitude in the hour of troubles, when they were at their height, their peak. N. Plotnikov from Moscow describes S. Kleymenov, a turner from the Volga truck plant named for the 50th anniversary of the USSR. "For me and my comrades in the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] he was an example of communist principle. Just read his speech at the 18th USSR Trade Union Congress!"

Unfortunately, the worker's speech was not in the short-hand record of the congress. But nonetheless staffers at the AUCCTU's general department tracked down the text of that short speech, which broke like a thunderclap:

"Dear comrades! Everyone knows that our country is in a very grave state. And it is all the more offensive to hear delegates in their speeches replacing professionalism with flattery of Brezhnev. Comrades! Is that really why the multimillion-strong army of trade unions has sent us here? No, it is not!"

The date was 19 March 1982. It was as though the communist worker had thrown a grenade into the hall. The delegates became pensive, and some crossed out of the speeches which they were supposed to recite the compliments designed to provoke tumultuous, prolonged, sustained applause developing into an ovation. (All rise!). CPSU Central Committee Secretary I. Kapitonov, with unconcealed anger, asked: How did S. Kleymenov get into the congress, and why has he been awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor?

Indeed, that's right, a Hero: He stood up and said what he thought. That's the way he is. His conscience is pure and untroubled. A Communist's conscience!

I do not know what S. Kleymenov had to endure or go through for speaking the truth. But here is the story of another lover of the truth—I. Popov. Addressing a

meeting of Communists of the apparatus at the Chelyabinsk branch of the South Urals Railroad which was discussing the results of the 25th CPSU Congress, the senior engineer rebuked the keynote speaker for a speech which viewed things in too favorable a light and said: "And the keynote speech to the congress delivered by Brezhnev was not critical enough, either. The speaker had no reason to praise Brezhnev or extol his virtues. They eulogized him at the congress. This is a personality cult!"

What happened then? As a result of that criticism the meeting unanimously adopted the following resolution: "To condemn Comrade Popov's speech as politically immature...." Then there was a party bureau session, a new meeting of Communists, and the decision adopted by an overwhelming majority (out of 169 votes, there were 3 against with 8 abstentions): "Expulsion from the party for antiparty views and comments...."

The dissident [inakomyslyashchiy] I. Popov appealed to the conscience of his party organization comrades, sure that they would come out of the meeting insulting Brezhnev and enthusiastically swapping anecdotes. But they responded to Popov by talking about unity and the monolithic nature of the party. And it didn't occur to anyone that its monolithic nature resides in the actions of party members, in doing things Lenin's way. It does not mean monolithic thought, duplicated and circulated among all 20 million Communists. That is Stalin's way.

...So there were three votes against the expulsion and eight abstentions. A minority! "If only the majority always took a principled stand!" S. Vazhgovskiy, a CPSU member since 1926, wrote to PRAVDA from Simferopol. "The trouble is that often the so-called majority is the mouthpiece of civic passivity and sometimes mere servility toward the leadership—then even the most incisive criticism sinks in the quagmire of that 'majority's' appeasement, many sensible proposals are discarded, fresh thought is stifled, and elementary propriety is flouted. The narrowly pragmatic rule 'I'll scrub your back, you scrub mine' overrides all else. Unfortunately, I have met party workers (at various levels) who did not listen to criticism but stifled it, thus creating the semblance of prosperity so as not to waste their efforts eliminating shortcomings. These lovers of the 'quiet life' found it easier to get rid of the critic than remove defects in work."

That hasty and unjust court in Chelyabinsk really did get rid of Popov. That honest party member's expulsion from the CPSU lasted 12 long years. In July last year the Chelyabinsk oblast party committee [obkom] bureau adopted the following decision: "Bearing in mind that in 1976 I. Popov rightly raised the question of shortcomings in the activity of the CPSU, and that his speech was aimed at eliminating those shortcomings, he is to be restored to membership of the CPSU."

At long last the communist fighter was rehabilitated.

Stand up and speak.... I recall when N. Urtsev, second secretary of Magnitogorsk party city committee [gorkom], was asked this question: "How do you assess yesterday's CPSU Central Committee resolution, which approved the Rostov experience of removing laggards from work?"

"As immoral, because ostentation is approved in the name of the Central Committee and those who drew up this document fully deserve the order of Count Potemkin [decoration awarded for bogus achievements]."

That was said in public among honest people. No, there was no applause. Nor was the gorkom second secretary counting on any. It was just that they had asked him and he could only answer from his heart. That's the way he is!

A number of years have passed since then. The gorkom has a different secretary now. But the Communists remember N. Urtsev's reply. Well, as the popular saying, the collective wisdom of the ages, has it, and quite rightly, too: You cannot extinguish the truth by fire or water.

Party members have stood up and spoken about stagnation, the shower of undeserved awards, and corruption. For that they were not only deprived of their "red books" [party membership cards] but also of their freedom, work, and health. The shots of criticism do not always hit the target. Alas, contrary to all the rules of dynamics, they "ricochet" and fall back on the heads of those doing the criticizing.

In 1977 I. Kikilo, secretary of Krasnodar Kray Party Committee [kraykom], exposed Medunov's sham heroism—Medunov was one of Brezhnev's submissive lackeys. What an unequal struggle! He's "done for," he's a "Don Quixote"—I heard people saying about the secretary's actions. But he did not enter the fray for the sake of glory—but rather for the sake of honor and the cause. And he lost the fight. He was "catapulted" from the post with which he had been entrusted by the party conference delegates. But his letter to the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee made the first breach in the fortress which the people described as the Medunov system. A flood of letters rushed into the CPSU Central Committee, law enforcement organs, and central press editorial offices through that gap. It was this that ultimately relieved the "hero" Medunov of his lofty post. Communist I. Kikilo's words fought their way into the open through the concrete barriers.

Many people's voices "erupted" at the time of glasnost. It will soon be a year since the 19th all-union party conference. But people still remember the speeches made by its delegates.

Or take the recent Central Committee April plenum. What impartial assessments were made there! True, these assessments were not of the past but of the present. Our actions and our mistakes were criticized.

The reports and CPSU elections have a distinguishing feature. For the first time criticism at Communists' meetings and party conferences has not taken its habitual course—from the top down—but was in fact aimed at the very top. In particular, at the Central Committee and Politburo members.

At Altay Kray's Troitskiy Rayon, party conference delegate S. Cheremnova, for instance, said that she wanted to make use of a Communist's prescribed right to criticize any party comrade irrespective of his post. And she did: "I consider it a grave mistake on the part of the Politburo and M.S. Gorbachev personally to hush up the speeches at the CPSU Central Committee October (1987) Plenum." Those materials have now been published.

Of course, we are unaccustomed to hearing the following. A. Gordyukhina, a delegate to the same conference, was indignant at what she heard. Going up to the rostrum after S. Cheremnova, she could have expressed her opinion. She did not. She preferred to torpedo the editorial office with letters and telephone calls. "What ideas is she propagandizing? Send my letter to the raykom."

All in all, someone waging a verbal struggle for glasnost and pluralism of opinion longs to punish a Communist who has dared to have her own opinion.

Stand up and speak the truth—directly, openly, and fully. The rostrum at party meetings, plenums, conferences, and congresses was originally conceived and created just for honest, albeit bitter, words. A Saratov Obkom plenum was held right after the 27th CPSU Congress. A sharp and uncompromising report was heard. Its theme was as follows: We cannot live and work any longer in this way.

The report's "words" fired the hearts of those present in the hall. The debate began—cold, purely "economic" speeches were murmured, written well before the report was heard. A. Khomyakov, obkom first secretary, tried to tactfully ask the members of the elective organ to put aside their papers and give free rein to their feelings of anger and the spark of constructive thought. Only two people had the courage to do that. (They turned out to be splendid orators!).

Unfortunately, bureaucratic phraseology—suitable for protocols rather than for life—rules the roost at many such forums. It is no joke that there are regular "orators" who are strictly designated to read out speeches. Astounding, but a fact. Within the party committee the springs of life "babble," passions burn, and acute ideological struggle is under way.... But, as in the olden days, "debates" are held and "measures elaborated" according to a carefully staged scenario. A performance is put on during which the actors' speeches abound with words like restructuring, revolutionary renewal, reform....

A man who comes from a family of grain growers (I won't give his name) lives in Kaluga Oblast's Mosalskiy Rayon. Here he stands—a thickset man with huge paws—at the rostrum and reads out an opus written at the rayon party committee [raykom]. The audience sympathizes with the man (that is why they do not "murder" the orator) as he vainly tries to overcome the barrier of abstruse words.

As we can see, scenes from yesteryear are also being played out today....

The elections of USSR people's deputies provided numerous examples of how thrilling meetings can be if there is emotional fire, pluralism of opinion, and a battle of wits. It is a fact that some election meetings dragged on until cockcrow, and no one left. Tedium often reigns and sterile ideas are voiced at party conferences, plenums, and conferences. The talking shop continues, in general. That is why a report on a measure will be written as follows: So much has been said.... Is that an indication of activity?

Responsibility for words spoken in public.... Is that what we party members are discussing? I did not hear anything. Responsibility should be supreme. Responsibility for criticism—to ensure that it is authentic—and responsibility for praise—to ensure that it comes from the heart.

Irresponsibility still rules here and there. Some people overturn all authorities in fiery wrath, while others euphorically talk themselves and others up with false pathos.

Peering into the face of the Kaluga plowman, I remembered a story I heard in Repets village, Manturovskiy Rayon, Kursk Oblast. I will tell you the main facts. During the last year of the war a shock worker from a collective farm [kolkhoz] here was summoned to Kursk for a rally. They said that Lyubov Petrovna Burtseva would make a speech. She—an illiterate woman—learned her speech by heart in a week. There she was on the rostrum. Right behind the rostrum was the raykom secretary with the text: Don't be afraid, Lyubasha, I'm a good prompter."

He prompted her about feelings of nationwide love for Iosif Vissarionovich and a happy life, but Lyubasha voiced her own feelings: "Many women's husbands have died. Mine too. I have young children. Work is the only panacea. So I tell you people from the bottom of my heart: Let us work harder and harder so the war comes to an end sooner." And she left the rostrum to applause.

Lyubov Petrovna left this memory of herself in her native village. Through her irrepressible work in the fields for a "panacea" and honest talk, always and on everything.

Communist, are you going up to the rostrum? Remember the peasant woman here. Stand up, as she did, and speak the truth, not betraying your conscience in any way.

IZVESTIYA Depicts Fight To Save Aral Sea
PM1705092189

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 12 May in the Morning Edition publishes on the front page under the headline "Water for the Aral" photoreportage featuring two photographs, one depicting a bulldozer team taking a break, and the other walking excavators at work in Bukhara Oblast's Karakul'skiy Rayon.

The photographs are accompanied by the following report:

"Just over 6 months have passed since the adoption of the government resolution on the ecological revival of the Aral, but the main areas in which this vast effort will be carried out are already clearly defined. Within the next 3-4 years it is planned to build and or reconstruct collecting mains through which large quantities of drainage water will be channeled into the Aral Sea.

"As is known, the Aral situation is catastrophic. Some 50, or even 30 years ago, rivers supplied 50 cubic kilometers of life-giving water to this sea annually. In addition, 10 cubic kilometers were provided by rain and snow. However, in recent years the level of the Aral has dropped by 13 meters, the total area of the sea has decreased by one-third, and in 1986 neither the Amu Darya nor the Syr Darya were reaching the Aral.

"This is why urgent measures are now being taken to save the sea. It is planned to create artificially regulated water reservoirs at the Mezhdurechenskoye fall of the Amu Darya and in Muynak'skiy Rayon.

"'Aralvodstroy' has been allocated 500 units of various pieces of equipment, including walking excavators, powerful bulldozers, and suction dredges. All these machines are already in use.

"Hydraulic engineers in Khorezm are also drawing up their 'battle orders.' They will take part in the construction of the main republic collection main, along which drainage water will be channeled into the Aral.

"Construction workers of the Uzbek State Committee for Water Resources Construction 'Vodstroy' special association's mobile mechanized column No 39, whom you see in the photograph, are already digging the collection main trench. The republic's public is taking a special interest in their work. Not all the documentation for the canal construction is as yet ready. The question of whether the canal is to be built 'to the sea' or 'not to the sea' is still being discussed. Meanwhile the bulldozer and excavator operators and other workers are firmly convinced that it is necessary to hurry to the assistance of

the Aral! The salinization of the steppes must not be allowed to get worse; no more barren lakes such as the Sichankul, Sultandak, and Dengizkul, which have formed from drainage water collecting in the lowlands, must be allowed to form."

Scientific

Scientists Plan To Dismantle Chernobyl Plant
*LD1905184489 Moscow International Service
in Italian 1900 GMT 17 May 89*

[Text] Soviet specialists have worked out a program to destroy the reactors wrecked at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. As is known, the accident happened 3 years ago. Now the reactor is covered by a reinforced steel structure commonly known as the sarcophagus.

Views can be heard with increasing frequency asking for the sarcophagus to be destroyed and for the radio active [indistinct word] to be expunged from the face of our planet. Various options for doing this as soon as possible and in the best possible way are being considered. It now seems that the specialists have devised the appropriate solution.

From the moral point of view we have been ready for quite some time now for this work, which requires a high level of responsibility. Yuriy Samoylenko, manager of the Spetsatom operations group, told us. We have already designed the equipment to dismantle the sarcophagus. We hope that in due course there will be a green meadow to replace it.

In addition to its psychological aspect, the problem of the dismantling of the sarcophagus has other aspects, too, especially financial. At the moment the maintenance of the protective structure can cost anything between R80 and 100 million per annum. If one considers that the sarcophagus has been planned and built to last for decades it will not be difficult to understand what the cost of maintaining the sarcophagus throughout all those years will be. On the other hand, it is not certain that the sarcophagus could provide protection if anything unexpected happened.

There are quite a few people who disagree with the proposal to demolish the sarcophagus. The main argument of those opposing the idea concerns the risk. The supporters of the idea, on the other hand, maintain that it will be just as dangerous to keep the sarcophagus in its present state.

The dismantling will take 9-10 years. It will be divided into two stages. During the first state it is proposed to (?raise) from the inside of the sarcophagus the remaining radioactive (?matter) and contaminated matter without, however, [words indistinct] inside. This job must be done by a robot. The machinery will (?lift bit by bit) the objects contained inside the sarcophagus and assemble them in the containers which will be then removed from

the power plant area and buried in accordance with traditional practice. After that the dismantling of the sarcophagus itself will begin. From the technological point of view this operation can be regarded as traditional and much less dangerous than the construction of similar structures.

'An-225' Brings 'Buran' Shuttle to Kiev

LD2005195989 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1333 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Kiev, 20 May (TASS) TASS correspondent Valentin Vernodubenko reports:

The "Buran" space shuttle craft arrived here Friday [19 May] evening: It was brought to the airfield of the "Oleg Antonov" experimental design bureau by a "Mriya" "An-225" Soviet transport aircraft, the largest in the world.

The "Buran" was fixed on special external suspension brackets whereby the total weight of the entire transport system on take-off was approximately 560 tonnes, Aleksandr Galunenko, the commander of the enormous aircraft told the TASS correspondent. No other aircraft in the world is yet capable of lifting such a gigantic weight, but for ours it is not the limit. "Mriya" can take off with a total take-off weight of 600 tonnes.

On 10 May, when the "An-225" set off for Baykonur to pick up its unique load, its crew and designers intended that they would return to Kiev nearer 25 May. However, it was possible to speed up the work considerably. After the first test flights had been carried out in the area of the cosmodrome it became clear that there would be no unpleasant surprises on the flight from Baykonur to Kiev, and the number of test flights was reduced from nine to five: On the sixth occasion the crew set course for the Ukrainian capital.

Today the designers inspected all systems of the air freighter and decided that they were fully in order. The aircraft will now make a flight to Moscow with the "Buran": The "tandem" will then return to Kiev. It will leave there at the beginning of June for the 38th international air show at Le Bourget, near Paris. The Soviet exhibition there promises to be one of the most representative. Along with the "Mriya" the USSR will be showing modern military equipment, including the "MiG-29" fighter, and the "Su-27" interceptor. Passenger airliners will also be shown: the "Il-96" airbus and also the medium-range "Tu-204."

Council on 'Phobos' Failure Ends Meeting

LD1805224589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] Today the meeting of the scientific council on the 'Phobos' project finished in Moscow. You know that this project, by using two space vehicles, was set up to study the interplanetary environment of Mars

and Phobos, its satellite. However, both crafts were lost, one in the first stage of the flight and the other in the immediate proximity of Phobos. Our correspondent, Leonid Lazarevich has just returned from this council. I have a question for you. What has this mission nevertheless given to science? What was reported at the council?

[Lazarevich] However bitter it is that two stations have been lost, they had time to fulfil part of the scientific research, quite a large part of it. During one of the sun's flares, the emission of plasma and the distance of it from the radius of the sun was registered. Phobos was photographed. It was established, for example, that the daytime temperature on Phobos is minus 27 Celsius - this is during the day. In my opinion this is interesting. A hundred sessions were held and 100 bursts of hard space radiation [zhestkoye kosmicheskoye izlucheniye] were registered.

There was a lot of interesting information and there will be reports. There were reports at the council. Material will be published. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore the fact that both stations were lost. Let me say immediately that there is as yet no final conclusion as to why this happened, but there are some theories. There are many different theories and they are very complicated. The developers of the scientific apparatus and the developers of the stations do not agree. There are mutual accusations, they were rather sharp and emotional, but now, in my opinion, a very important event has occurred. An international council has been formed to analyze everything that happened with "Phobos 2." What seems to be to be particularly remarkable is that this council, you know, is not only there to carry out an analysis of what has already happened. All future stations will be created with this council's participation.

Ahead, we have very many projects, which will be created in a program of international cooperation. The exploration of Mars is set to be carried out before the end of the century. The next project will be the "Mars-94" project. You know what worries me? This project is planned. It should take place but the question of how it is to be financed has yet to be decided. This means that in the final stage, when the time of this astronomical window approaches, a rush hour will start again. This is what happened with "Phobos 2," and you know what that led to.

[Announcer] All in all, that should not be repeated.

Shatalov Urges U.S.-Style Space Agency for USSR

PM1905114789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Lieutenant General V.A. Shatalov, chief of the Cosmonaut Training Center, by scientific observer B. Konovalov: "Cosmonautics at the Crossroads"; place, date of interview not given]

[Text] [Konovalov] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, many people believe that our cosmonautics suffers very seriously from lack of departmental coordination. Nowadays one set of organizations deals with equipment,

another deals with scientific research, and the application of this research is the responsibility of such a multitude of organizations that it is impossible to figure out who is responsible for what. In practice we don't have a single "overlord." Don't you think that it's time for us to create a proper USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology which should be the main organ in cosmonautics not just in name but actually in reality? It has become universally accepted practice to set up agencies which receive appropriations for cosmonautics, act as contracting clients for equipment and research, and enter into economically accountable relations with all users of space information. Could it be worthwhile to take the same path?

[Shatalov] This is not a new idea, and it has been discussed among cosmonauts on many occasions over the years. Our country chose its own path for managing the development of cosmonautics, proceeding from the prevailing departmental structure. Indeed, we do not have an organization like, for example, NASA (the National Aeronautics and Space Administration) which, having brought competent people together, was in a position to set strategic and tactical objectives in space exploration, substantiate the expediency of financing various works, put projects out to competitive tender, competently evaluate tenders, choose the best one, and implement it once more on a contractual basis.

It cannot be said that we have nothing like it. Certain elements are present. But we do lack an overall, well-organized, and permanently operating system. And this, of course, is not beneficial for cosmonautics.

Back in the late sixties, following V.M. Komarov's death, we raised this issue with great urgency. We got as high as D.F. Ustinov (and that was very high indeed at the time). We were told more or less this: "You look after your own business. Your duty is to fly. You know nothing, we set up a USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for the Management of Cosmonautics long before NASA."

Hardly anything has changed in essence since then, despite repeated attempts by different people to introduce improvements.

We are already tired of telling people that we need a substantiated long-term program for cosmonautics. Back in the past this was the province of an interdepartmental scientific and technical council led by Academician M.V. Keldysh, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This council is now headed by Academician G.I. Marchuk, but we are still waiting for results from its work.

As the ones who have to do the job, we should preselect the people for specific programs, train them, and place orders for simulators which nobody is likely to produce in a hurry. But we have no programs. Today I have no idea what we will have to do tomorrow or the day after. And even the current tasks are changing all the time.

There we were, having trained two crews for a scheduled expedition to the "Mir" Station. Then we had to stand down. Now these crews have to undergo further instruction and be trained to work with additional instrumentation modules [modul doosnashcheniya] which will eventually be docked onto "Mir." But we still have no program for specific training for, say, next year, never mind the more distant future. We have no consistency in the training of foreign cosmonauts. Obviously the organizations producing instruments to be used on the station have no idea about these plans. We are in no position to familiarize ourselves with these instruments in advance and to evaluate the convenience of their operation from the cosmonaut's point of view. Every time it is a case of "all hands to the pumps."

In my view, our cosmonautics has a vital need for an effective and competent staff [shtab]. There is obviously no need to invent the wheel. World experience is available and, on the basis of this experience, we must set up a space agency of the Soviet Union. It should operate in conditions of total financial glasnost. Priorities should be set with the scientific community's help. After all, we do have earthly problems which are more important than space problems. But I feel that it is irresponsible to talk about it being necessary to halt the development of cosmonautics altogether. We did not invest considerable funds in this sphere for year after year only to "let everything slide" now. Let us bear in mind that a special space council for the pursuit of a national space policy is now being set up under the U.S. President, to be headed by the country's vice president.

[Konovalov] Obviously the paramount duty of the space agency will have to be the organization of national economic work to recoup the cost of manned flights. Hitherto the country has been fed almost nothing but promises. This cannot go on indefinitely....

[Shatalov] Yes indeed, all the numerous stages through which we have gone so far have been, to all intents and purposes, preparations for the creation of space production units. The same thing happens on earth: First you dig a ditch, then you lay foundations, construct walls and roofs, install lights, water supply, elevators.... In my view, now we have all we need to produce extensive practical returns. It has so happened that this stage has coincided in time with restructuring. But even without restructuring, it is objectively time to embark on extensive practical work in space. The scientific quest stages have dragged on for too long.

The uninterrupted work by crews on the "Mir" Station has proved that cosmonauts can live and work efficiently in orbit for up to 1 year. Supplies are sufficiently reliable, and the station's refueling has been worked out. We have already determined specific spheres in which it would be economically advantageous to set up production units in space. These are primarily the growing of semiconductor crystals for the electronic industry and the production of high-purity medical compounds. There is the energy

problem, but specialists believe that it can be solved with the help of additional instrumentation modules and further improvement of solar panels.

The absence of a real "overlord" in cosmonautics has brought about a situation whereby virtually all responsibility for its future is borne by the developers [sozdatel] of space technology. But their main efforts are concentrated on the endless improvement of technology. The USSR Academy of Sciences and other departments are not concerned about returns from technology. This is not right. Now we have all we need to embark on extensive practical work in space. All that needs to be done is to change priorities and set up an organization which would take into account both the expenditure on and the revenue from cosmonautics.

[Konovalov] But all the hopes for starting up production activity are associated with the docking of additional instrumentation modules onto the "Mir" station. Unfortunately, we have been waiting for this for more than 3 years already. At the very beginning, designers praised this station and talked about a "new generation" station whose main distinguishing feature would be six docking units. And yet only two of them are operational, just as it was with previous stations. We would probably use the vilest abuse against people who spend 3 years to bring a new plant up to its design capacity, but here we are keeping bashfully silent. The outcome is that the placement of a new station in orbit was reported to the 27th CPSU Congress, and we have spent 3 years bringing it "up to scratch."

[Shatalov] Correct. Here we are talking about a "space construction schedule overrun." Crews have spent all these 3 years taking additional instrumentation to the station in orbit and delivering equipment there. Many instruments are "half-finished"—50 percent of the scientific equipment does not function. Crews spend too much time on technical maintenance work. Of course, now we have had practical proof that cosmonauts can be assigned any task—either inside the station or outside, in open space—and they will cope with it. But this must not become a goal in itself.

Even life in the station is difficult now, because it is crammed with equipment. We hope that this "construction schedule overrun" will at long last come to its logical conclusion and that "Mir" will get its long-awaited additional instrumentation modules this fall.

[Konovalov] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, commercial terms are now used in our conversations, we are adopting new conditions for the launch of foreign cosmonauts. Naturally, the following question suggests itself: Is it necessary to award them the title of Hero of the Soviet Union? Even if we do consider it necessary to recognize their personal contribution to the strengthening of cooperation with our country, we do have other awards.

[Shatalov] I agree with you. The situation has changed and appropriate conclusions must be drawn.

[Konovalov] It seems to me in general that the Hero's Star and the award of general's rank and degrees of candidate or doctor of sciences to cosmonauts is simply a way of supplementing their low salaries. Could it be simpler to reward them properly for their hard and risky labor?

[Shatalov] The press has now started asking: Why should the military fly in space? But why not? More than 50 percent of cosmonauts in the United States are also military. NASA is now headed by cosmonaut Admiral Richard Truly. A general's rank in our country is awarded not for flights but according to the office held. Some cosmonauts are graduates from the General Staff Academy and hold a general's rank in the Army. This is a natural progression for capable people. I see nothing dangerous in it. In the same way, many civilian cosmonauts are elected as higher education establishment rectors or become professional scientists when their flying career ends. The situation is the same in the United States.

Regarding salaries, they are of course not large. A cosmonaut earns R300. There is a 10 percent supplement following his first flight. Three flights result in a 15 percent supplement. A 20 percent supplement can be earned after five flights. All military cosmonauts receive the same additional titular payments, while incentives for civilian cosmonauts are the same as for all enterprise workers.

Test flights involving space technology could produce bonus payments ranging from R2,000 to R15,000.

For comparison purposes: When U.S. astronauts join NASA and retain their military rank, they receive \$40,000 a year.

[Konovalov] What do you feel about the USSR Journalists Union's decision to aim to have a Soviet correspondent fly in space, to be followed by a foreign correspondent?

[Shatalov] We are ready to train both a Soviet and a Japanese journalist for flight. All cosmonauts have great respect for journalists' work, and we will do everything possible to help them in their work.

I personally think that a flight by a Japanese journalist would be more useful. It would be more productive in propagandizing our cosmonautics. It is one thing when you praise or criticize yourself, but it is something quite different when others talk about you.

But I think that when training a Japanese citizen for a flight, we could obtain more benefits than is envisaged at present. It is a shame that our mighty industry has not organized the production of good space souvenirs and

modern children's toys. Japan specializes in this sphere and we could set up a joint venture to propagandize cosmonautics. Life proves that this is by no means superfluous. We have not missed the train yet, it is not too late to set up such a venture.

We are on the threshold of the epoch of commercial spaceflight. It is time to start propagandizing it on a proper commercial scale.

Secretary Baklanov Defends Space Program
*LD1805215789 Moscow TASS in English 1739 GMT
18 May 89*

[Text] Penza May 18 TASS—In implementing Soviet space programmes, we proceed from the following principle: All progressive accomplishments, tested and introduced in space technology, should be used in the national economy, a senior Soviet Communist Party official has pointed out.

Oleg Baklanov, secretary of the party Central Committee, addressed party activists in Penza, central Russia, on Wednesday [17 May] at a regional meeting that discussed tasks of raising living standards.

The Central Committee secretary defended the space programme in connection with the widespread criticism that space research fails to bring benefits to the national economy.

He said that the development of the Energiya-Buran system alone helped produce more than 80 types of new materials. Their use in the national economy sharply increases the reliability and service life of many machines and mechanisms, he observed.

About 300 specific scientific and production tasks are being handled with the use of materials produced thanks to space research. Baklanov also revealed that the economic effect of space photography alone is approaching one billion roubles a year.

Speaking about conversion, the Central Committee secretary said that it will make it possible to increase consumer goods production by 1.4 times in the next year.

"This powerful potential is being tapped thanks to the persistent and active peaceful foreign policy of the party and the Soviet State, of which Mikhail Gorbachev's recent visit to China is fresh and convincing evidence," he remarked.

Military

Sunken Submarine 'Komsomolets' Possibly Located
*LD2105193589 Murmansk Maritime Press Service
in Russian 1500 GMT 21 May 89*

[Summary from poor reception] According to reports coming in to the command post of the Northern Fleet, the first results have been obtained in the search for the "Komsomolets," the submarine which sank. The hydrographic ship "Persey" has detected objects on the sea bed. Although it is not possible to say for certain that one of them is the submarine, the searchers are optimistic. However a storm has blown up in the area, making their work more difficult, and until the sea calms down somewhat, it will be impossible to use any manned underwater apparatus.

The scientific research ship "Akademik Mstislav Keldysh" has already arrived in the area of the search and is preparing to lower the manned apparatus "Mir." The rescue ship "Mikhail Rudnitskiy" is on its way, and the hydrographical ship "Kolguev" has left for the search region.

General Lushev Gives Victory Day Interview
*18070633 Moscow TRUD in Russian
9 May 89 p 1*

[Interview with P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister, commander in chief of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states, by a TRUD correspondent: "A Great Feat"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister, commander in chief of the United Armed Forces of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, responds to the questions of TRUD.

[TRUD] Petr Georgiyevich, you participated in the Great Patriotic War. It seems, therefore, that you have your own attitude, gained through suffering. As a war veteran, how do you evaluate the lessons of the war, the meaning of victory?

[Lushev] First of all, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the TRUD readers on Victory Day. I know that there are more than a few front-line veterans among them, for whom 9 May is especially dear. Their best and dearest hopes were connected with this day 44 years ago.

This, perhaps, is the grandeur of our victory. It showed the entire world the staunchness of the Soviet man, who honors his motherland more than his life. However difficult and endless the situation was at the fronts, there was never found a force which could overcome the filial love and devotion of Soviet warriors toward their socialist homeland, their people and the Communist Party. These were the sources of massive heroism. Millions of

soldiers and officers were not the only ones to be awarded state decorations for bravery and courage. Regiments, brigades, divisions, and corps were decorated as well.

Our victory was a victory of all the peoples united into the Soviet Union. Each troop, whatever nation or nationality he belonged to, defended his common homeland, displaying unsurpassable models of courage, devotion to socialism, and to proletarian internationalism. At Moscow and Stalingrad, in the Caucasus and the Ukraine, the blood of Russians and Uzbeks, Ukrainians and Tadzhiks, Belorussians, Lithuanians, Azerbaydzhanis, and Georgians was mixed together in the fierce battles. Sons of a single motherland, they fulfilled their sacred patriotic duty. Let me cite these figures: In early 1945, information was made public about the nationalities of the 3.5 million Soviet troops who had been awarded combat decorations. Of these were 2,373,068 Russians; 482,210 Ukrainians; 116,000 Belorussians; 37,743 Kazakhs; 26,682 Uzbeks; 26,445 Armenians, and 3,392 Latvians....

The meaning of our victory is that it proved that socialism cannot be routed. True, things were not easy for us, especially in the beginning of the war. Much has recently been said and written about this. Of course, it is easier to talk in terms of "what would have happened if..." almost 50 years later. It was much harder for those who did what had to be done at that time. Let us recall how, like so many houses of cards, the European states fell under the pressure of Hitlerite troops and the satellites of fascist Germany, and only one, the Soviet, socialist state, despite all its difficulties and losses, not only withstood, but had its decisive say in the destruction of the aggressor. What would have been had this not happened? Somehow, nobody thinks about this now. The fascist rulers, in their effort to win world domination, inflicted innumerable misfortunes upon the enslaved peoples of Europe, planning new wars of plunder. The victory alone put an end to this. It saved the world, it saved civilization.

More than 40 years have passed. The world has changed. Many of its problems have become different. But one, the problem of war and peace, has not been stricken from the agenda. And the lessons of the victory retain special significance in relation to this. The most important of these lessons is that we must struggle against a war before it begins. Historical experience teaches that in order to defend peace, a unification and agreement of all peace-loving forces and real actions are needed. A high level of vigilance of the peoples is needed, as well as a general strengthening and increase of the achievements of socialism, and the unification of efforts centering on the goals of restructuring.

It is appropriate to be reminded that the Second World War was not inevitable. However, the initiatives of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving forces for the creation in Europe in the thirties of a system of collective

security and the restraint of fascist aggression were foiled by the Anglo-French ruling circles of the time. Many peoples of Europe, including the English and French, had to pay for the conscious, mercenary tolerance of the aggressor on the part of the imperialist powers.

[TRUD] Do you see any ideological and moral qualities of those front-line veterans of whom you spoke, among the country's defenders today? How would you assess the level and nature of the relations which have now been established between the Army and the people?

[Lushev] I feel that on the whole, the current generation of Soviet soldiers is worthy of its fathers and grandfathers. They have a high level of civic responsibility and responsibility for the historical fate of socialism in our country, and a burning love for the homeland. And they are second to none in courage and bravery. This was confirmed during the military actions in Afghanistan, where Soviet soldiers fulfilled their international and military duties to the end, confirmed by the participation of troops in the elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station and of the earthquakes in Armenia and Tajikistan, as well as in the selfless struggle of the "Komsomolets" crew to save the nuclear torpedo submarine. Other examples could be cited.

It is therefore no accident that the Army's authority is fairly high in our society. But at the same time, we must speak about what alarms us. That is the formation of a simplified idea of the Army, of its people, of military service itself, on the part of certain literati, publicists, and public figures. I want to be understood correctly: Of course we are not against justified criticism; its constructive role is obvious. But we cannot disagree with the fact that they sometimes represent the Army as the source of many social problems and of almost all social evil, of the tense situation in many spheres of social production, science, culture, and education, etc.

Conversations are held about the senselessness of military service and about the military oath on the basis that victory over the enemy cannot be demanded of the soldier, that no threat of war really exists at this time. Such conversation, appeals, and the attendant actions will damage the nation's security. This also testifies to the fact that some of us in this country have forgotten the lessons of the past, which demand vigilance and constant attention to the development of the Armed Forces, the fortification of defense capability.

Without diminishing the success achieved by the forces of peace, it cannot be said that the danger of a new war breaking out has passed. The line of the party and the state in defending the socialist fatherland and the achievements of socialism, as determined by the 27th congress of the CPSU, has not lost any of its urgency. It

is important to support the homeland's defense capability on such a level that no aggressor would encroach upon our security, on the peaceful life of the Soviet people.

[TRUD] The Army has recently been more and more frequently drawn into fulfilling tasks not directly related to the country's defense. We have in mind participation in harvesting, road construction, maintaining public order, and the like. Does this mean that our Army has new functions?

[Lushev] The basic function of the Armed Forces is not to allow war. With this is linked another, no less important function, that of guarding the peaceful labor of the great people, to be prepared, in conjunction with the armies of our allies, to repel any aggressor.

The 44 years which have passed since the end of the war have confirmed that the Soviet Armed Forces have been managing this function with confidence. I reveal no secret when I say that in the decades since the war, the international imperialist reaction has prepared more than one aggression against our country, against all of socialist society. It is not inappropriate to recall the American "Dropshot" plan of war against the USSR, planned for early 1957. And this, after all, was not the only or the last plan.

We must remember in addition that the Army is part of Soviet society, and it cannot be isolated from the problems and events troubling society. And it is completely natural that the best organized and best equipped force is periodically enlisted to solve a number of national economic tasks, the elimination of the consequences of ecological and industrial disasters and accidents, and natural disasters. But it seems premature to speak of this as a new function of the Army.

It must not remain unsaid that in places attempts are sometimes made to utilize military formations not in accordance with their constitutional designation. This practice is of very little use, and on the whole, it negatively affects the troops' combat readiness. Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility of enlisting them to render assistance to people who have suffered as a result of fire and natural disaster, as stipulated by the Manual of the Garrison and Guard Duties of the USSR Armed Forces, confirmed by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[TRUD] The partial withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe continues. What can you say in relation to this?

[Lushev] This withdrawal means that the new political thinking is bearing ever new fruits. And also that the realization of the defensive tendencies of the Soviet military doctrine, the military doctrines of the state-participants of the Warsaw Pact continues. This will culminate in the grouping of the armed forces of the

allied socialist states in Europe acquiring a visibly defensive nature. The withdrawal of troops is being implemented in an organized manner, within an established time frame. Measures to provide a high level of combat readiness of the remaining troops have been taken.

[TRUD] Our readers inquire, how does the current unilateral reduction in Armed Forces differ from the reduction of the fifties? Will this not decrease the combat strength of our Army and Navy?

[Lushev] I will say more: The troop reduction of the fifties was on a far greater scale. But it is distinguished from the current one primarily by its trend. Back then, the number of troops was simply reduced. Now, simultaneous with the numerical reduction of the personnel and armaments, there is a restructuring of the very structure of the Armed Forces, for the purpose of making them more appropriate to the defensive nature of the Soviet military doctrine. Thus, the beginning is set for the realization of the principle of reasonable sufficiency of defense, the limits of which greatly depend upon the steps which will be taken by the United States and NATO on the issues of disarmament. In connection with the reduction of our troops, the quantity of tanks, artillery, and assault-crossing materiel is being reduced; on the other hand, the quantity of antitank systems and air defense systems is growing.

[TRUD] How will the necessary degree of combat readiness be ensured?

[Lushev] In addition to what has already been said, the troops' high combat readiness will also be achieved by means of a transition of military construction to qualitative parameters. This requirement of the 19th all-union party conference is already being realized. The essence of this process consists of its simultaneous qualitative improvement of the remaining forces, systems and administrative organs, and the improvement of the quality of the process of study in the course of combat and political training of the personnel. There are special tasks in the area of political indoctrination work with all categories of military personnel.

I want to direct attention to the fact that the priority of quality does not signify an aspiration to achieve military superiority. All the more so because this is not adequate for NATO's planned modernization of tactical nuclear weapons, aimed at "compensation" (owing to the withdrawal from Western Europe of American intermediate-range missiles), and even an increase of the bloc's offensive assault opportunities.

This is a dangerous intention, all the more so if we consider that all combat manuals and regulations, the fundamental documents of the construction of the armed forces of the United States and NATO have until now been oriented toward nuclear and offensive war against the USSR and other socialist countries. We

cannot fail to consider this, we cannot allow anyone to talk with us in the language of force and military superiority, as was shown in 1945....

In conclusion, I would like to note that the victory of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War has an eternal meaning. The feat of the Soviet people, accomplished in the interests of all humanity, in the name of life and peace on earth, is immortal.

Official Interviewed on Sales of Military Surplus
PM1705163989 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian
No 19, 8-14 May 89 (Signed to Press 10 May 89) p 3

[Interview with L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, by V. Aleksandrov: "From Military Test Site to Peaceful Auction. 'We Will Sell Off Army Equipment Worth R0.5 Billion'"—place, date of interview not given]

[Text] [Aleksandrov] Lev Alekseyevich, the press has carried brief reports that, thanks to the reduction of our Armed Forces by 500,000 men, 10,000 tanks, and so on, a sizeable quantity of combat and engineering equipment will be released. It will not be destroyed but will be somewhat "transformed" and handed over to the national economy, but not free of charge, of course. It was written that enterprises, collective farms, state farms, and maybe even cooperatives, leaseholders, "Soviet farmsteads," and individuals could benefit from this equipment. We would like to learn from an authoritative source whether this is true, what equipment will be handed over, to whom will it be handed over, at what prices, and what it could do.

[Voronin] The improvement of the economy's financial health is today the most important condition for the implementation of radical economic reform. This is the main issue. You know that it has been repeatedly raised at USSR Council of Ministers Presidium sessions and in the party Central Committee. A special Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution was adopted 15 March this year outlining a major program for improving the country's financial health.

One of the features of this program is the utilization of equipment, technology, material property, electrical engineering products, and communications means being released by the USSR Ministry of Defense. I would like to give due credit to the Ministry of Defense leadership: It is approaching the solution of this task in a very careful and very considered manner. It is planned to sell technical means and property released by the Armed Forces worth at least R0.5 billion. This is, of course, not combat equipment but engineering equipment and property suitable for multipurpose applications, so to speak.

[Aleksandrov] What has been done already in practical terms?

[Voronin] First, Army property worth several tens of millions of rubles has already been sold to consumers. I think that, in the next few days, we will sell additional equipment worth R40-50 million through our system.

Second, the Ministry of Defense has produced a specific list of the range of products which it will hand over and we will sell. It contains 1,900 product categories.

The largest group of equipment comprises several tens of thousands of motor vehicles: ZIL, KrAZ, GAZ, UAZ, and used cars.

Then we have electrical engineering products, communications stations, welding equipment, various rheostats, resistors, and transformers. Material property like footwear, jackets, and knitwear is also in great demand.

Finally, we have various means for dispensing and transporting fuel and lubricants, small-capacity slaughter houses, meat processing equipment, bakeries, hulling mills, and field kitchens. You can appreciate that it is impossible to mention everything.

[Aleksandrov] How have you organized this work?

[Voronin] Our country is vast, the equipment is released by various military units situated in many regions of the Soviet Union, and therefore we took the following organizational steps: We set up a staff at the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply which is headed by my deputy. Because there are practical matters arising every day, we formed an operations group under the committee's production department. The comrades liaise with all main territorial administrations (we have such administrations in every oblast), and they in turn establish contact with the appropriate military units. The equipment's condition is examined by joint commissions which determine prices; they are based on current retail prices taking into account the wear and tear of technical equipment and market conditions.

Over 1,000 motor vehicles have already been sold, and this is only the beginning. Naturally we would like to do this work more quickly, but it takes time to determine the category and technical condition of every article. We will strive to sell off all this equipment, technology, and property during the first 6 months.

Sales are effected through our wholesale bases and wholesale trade stores operating under every main territorial administration. It was agreed that knitwear and footwear be sold through the servicemen's trade network stores. Many medicines are channeled through the USSR Ministry of Health. Apart from these sales, we are auctioning equipment which is really in short supply. It is planned to hold about 20 auctions. Sales are also effected through trade fairs organized by our territorial organs.

[Aleksandrov] Are people eager to buy?

[Voronin] Quite. Frankly speaking, I was very worried in case the military equipment was left to gather dust at the bases. But now I think that there will be nothing left over. Our business ties with Defense Minister Dmitriy Timofeyevich Yazov are yielding good results. During the second half of 1989 we will review the results of the first stage and will see what else could be done.

[Aleksandrov] Thank you for the interview and, as the saying goes, may God grant that your stores supply more such "commodities" to the population and the national economy.

[Voronin] I think that this is what everyone wishes, the entire Soviet people and all peace-loving forces.

Attitude of Estonian Group Toward Army Questioned
*PM1705104389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 14 May 89 First Edition p 2*

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Captain Third Rank V. Urban report: "Old Uniforms Dusted Off. Estonia: The People's Front's View of the Army"]

[Text] Pickets in Tallinn are no surprise to anyone now. Their demands are different, just like the people standing on the streets for hours. It is pointless to ask some people questions in Russian—you won't get an answer. Others are extremely anxious to comment on their slogans.

I talked to a lad holding a banner proclaiming "Estonian Youths Should Serve in National Troops."

"Why are we sent north or to the Far East? Estonians should defend their republic"—those were his arguments.

Should we yearn for the times when there was no such public interest in our problems? The disproportions of the time of stagnation also affected the Army. So there is no point in regrets.

There is a considerable amount of gossip about the Army in Estonia, too, especially last year when the People's Front was formed in the republic. However, every new public organization also considers it "its duty" to voice its attitude to Army problems. Why? "There's nothing surprising in this," Major A. Leman (Retired) wrote to the editorial office. "People have already made claims about our Armed Forces' 'occupationalist functions.' Read republic publications—some articles there are of an inflammatory nature. Only don't think that I am exaggerating...."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has received many such letters. In general their authors do not "exaggerate."

I read the following in the local newspapers:

"...Soviet power was established in Estonia on the bayonets of Red Army soldiers."

"The main element in our truth and justice is that we cannot regard as just the alteration of Estonia's state system, in particular its incorporation in the USSR as happened in 1940."

Speeches at People's Front rallies have pinned enough offensive labels on the military. Although People's Front leaders promptly dissociate themselves from any extremist manifestations, the fact remains that it is no easier for an officer who serves here no matter who has dubbed him an "occupier"—extremists or "moderates."

Other extremes also make themselves felt—a dogged endeavor to embellish the Estonian bourgeois army. It must be discussed because silence enables myths and legends to arise. For instance, the society for the protection of ancient monuments cooperates closely with the Estonian People's Front (EPF) and has restored five monuments to the heroes of the "liberation war of 1918-1920." The press complains that this war has been undeservedly "extirpated" from Estonians' memory. This complaint is probably unavoidable for post-October events in Estonia used to be treated in a quite simplistic fashion by historical literature.

What now? While condemning "Stalinist historians," the representatives of the new wave (they are conventionally described as such) use the same methods in their fervor for controversy, citing only the facts that suit them. Thus even now a great deal still needs to be clarified.

Of course, many positive elements were manifested in the struggle for Estonian national independence. Most of the population associated this war with the struggle for statehood. Yet is it really not true that the 1st Estonian Division took part in the first Petrograd campaign with Yudenich? What about Yudenich's second offensive in fall 1919? After regrouping his quite ragged corps was supported once again in battle by the White Estonians.

The events of 1940 also receive quite biased coverage. Of course, the repressions that then began in Estonia did not increase the prestige of Soviet power. It is calculated that the republic lost approximately 15 percent of its population in the forties. Many losses are directly or indirectly linked with the Stalinist terror. Nonetheless the restoration of Soviet power in Estonia was a logical historical reality.

The year 1940 has stayed precisely there—in 1940. But documents do exist. Many participants in and eyewitnesses to those changes are still alive. But there are few people who heed their arguments.

"Why don't we want to listen to them today?" L. Annus, editor in chief of KOMMUNIST ESTONIYA, asked justly. "There is weighty proof that the people supported

the new power. It is much simpler to brand everything all together. However, if only that was all it was. Academician Eduard Pyall received a telephone call on his 80th birthday—bearing threats not congratulations."

"One-sided" glasnost for some reason prevails in historical articles in the local mass media (especially in the language of the indigenous nationality). Moreover, sometimes it reaches the point where there is outright falsification.

In my report following my first trip to Tallinn (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 December last year) I mentioned the article "Time of Horror" in the November edition of VIKERKAAR. Its author M. Laar drew the following conclusion on analyzing the prewar repressions: "We were saved from worse by the beginning of the military conflict 22 June 1941 between Hitlerite Germany and Stalinist Russia...."

I think that readers may have believed that. Yet the "facts" are cited in a scandalous fashion. In particular, it is said that soldiers in the Red Army or hunter battalions destroyed three villages and their inhabitants and the children were nailed to trees. But in fact neither the Red Army nor the hunter battalions committed such misanthropic actions.

The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Prosecutor's Office announced that Laar's claims are false fabrications, circulation of which is punishable under criminal law.

No one denies that Estonia has experienced hard times. The republic's Council of Ministers recently adopted a resolution "On the Procedure for the Restoration of Property and Damages for People Who Suffered Mass Repressions." Another step has been taken toward restoring justice. But voices can be distinctly heard demanding rehabilitation without legislation. Deputy E. Savisaar, an EPF leader, submitted this proposal to the December session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

What does this mean? It would be an excuse to rehabilitate those Estonians who fought on the German side. Savissar then received an answer from Deputy V. Poryvkin, who proved that indiscriminate rehabilitation of those convicted during the forties is also lawless. Many crimes were committed during the war years by local natives. That has not been noted in the archives.

No Estonian public formation has military programs as such. In some sense the EPF is the exception, but even here items concerning the Army were part of a section entitled... "Human Rights." I received various explanations for this. That is why when I set out for a meeting with R. Veydemann, member of the EPF Board, I was hoping for a frank conversation that would remove all my doubts. He is one of the authors of the EPF program. What did my interlocutor say?

"We consulted scientists who study other countries' military doctrines and came to the conclusion that the Army should be more professional in modern conditions. That is why if some young people have a vocation for service, that vocation should be developed."

He also pointed out that this could be done in school. The latter was particularly surprising. For the program itself contains quite different requirements: "We need to demilitarize schools and free pupils from military training...."

Admittedly Veydemann then added that guiding documents would be elaborated taking public opinion into consideration. At present, in his opinion, the main thing is to ensure that Estonian draftees either remain in the republic or at least are sent to areas with similar climatic conditions.

"Nonetheless let's be realistic," he said, "some people also have to defend our borders in the Far North."

Let us indeed try to look at the situation realistically. Any public organization has a right to express its attitude to the Armed Forces. The factors obstructing an increase in the Army and Navy's educative role and the current nonregulation relations may be cited. The EPF has done this. But is this really its work?

It is strange to hear that when elaborating the military aspects of its program, the leaders of the large public organization failed to utilize the ideas of the Warsaw Pact states' defensive doctrine adopted in 1987.

"That was our mistake," Veydemann agreed.

It would be good to learn from these mistakes. Any proposal and any project is ultimately worth checking out, and it is worth heeding the advice of competent people. Veydemann himself is a journal editor and finished his compulsory service 20 years ago. It is quite understandable that it is difficult for him to consider the dialectics of the development of the Armed Forces. Consultations with specialists on "other people's doctrines" have hardly brought total clarity.

Take the territorial subunits. At one time they did indeed play a positive role. But when troops are equipped with highly technical equipment and the demands on the combat readiness of the state's entire unified army are extremely high, resuming this system is tantamount to a step backward. Especially now when we have proclaimed military building on the principles of qualitative parameters.

Alienation also arises due to incomprehension. It would be incorrect to think that the EPF's proposals on military matters only reflect stereotyped notions on its part. Unfortunately, the choice has already been made. Splitting the Army into national compartments is the road to losing its international foundation. It is no coincidence

that veterans—meritorious people who experienced the war and did a great deal for the republic—were the first to assess the phenomenon correctly.

"The EPF program itself was not discussed properly in Estonia," Major General (Retired) N. Aksinin, who lives in Tallinn, explained the veterans' position. "Some approve it. This is reminiscent of the time when leaders decided everything for people. There are many Communists among the movement's leaders. Unfortunately, they also support demands on military matters that are at odds with the CPSU program. The 'sitting on the fence' tactic is especially alarming."

A bitter conclusion suggests itself. A certain split can be noticed. If the interview is for the central press some EPF activists and supporters state resolutely: "We must proceed from the realities. Not all Estonians can serve in their republic...." If the interview is for the local process, it may appear "without realities": "The creation of national armed forces and service on Estonian territory is in the foreground."

During the election campaign candidates supported by the EPF raised precisely these issues. It is typical that many contenders for deputy's seats at first "omitted" their demands for national troop formations and then rushed to rectify the omission. "The idea is supported by the draftees' relatives and the women's movement," one candidate said. "That must not be overlooked."

That is what is most alarming. There is nothing easier than exciting people. Especially mothers, if their maternal feelings are played upon. In my opinion, that is the main reason for the wave of passion sweeping the republic so rapidly.

On 13 April all local newspapers published a letter from Estonian Women's Congress deputies to the defense minister, but the congress itself had still...not begun. Were they simply in a hurry? Everything is more complex. Public consciousness could be seen to be being manipulated everywhere as if an invisible hand was controlling people. It created the image of the Army as the opponent of restructuring and an organization that only exists owing to violence and suppression of the individual. It is no coincidence that women picketed the republic's military commissariat on the eve of their congress for several days. An independent young people's forum held in Tartu urged them to continue their protest campaign. A new organization is being specially created—a society for the protection of Estonian citizens. Matters reached the point where blatantly extremist appeals could be heard.

In order to avoid unsubstantiated assertions let me illustrate the informals' demands with excerpts from pamphlets and banners as follows: "Estonian Recruits! You Face Dispersal Into Countless Soviet Units or Imprisonment for Refusing To Serve—If We Go On in

the Old Way...." "Occupier, Your Time Has Run Out. Freedom for Estonia!" "Enforced Recruiting Into an Army of Occupation is an International Crime."

Moreover, everything is proclaimed overtly, sometimes via the mass media. But if some draftees act in that way, they will be violating the law.... Who will take responsibility? I do not believe that it will be the citizens protection society.

The law can be used against those who blatantly destabilize the situation using extreme methods. But I must clarify once again that a great deal is happening owing to incomprehension. Different approaches are required.

Objective glasnost is needed here as never before. For instance, Major General R. Pyder, the republic's military commissar, is enthusiastically entering into contact with the local press. Various questions are asked, but every interview mentions without fail the task "of territorial formations." Reyna Aleksandrovich's opinion is as follows: You cannot set about solving the problem unequivocally, we are all citizens of the USSR irrespective of our place of residence. The EPF demands, he reckons, contain a breach of social justice. We have few areas of service and branches of troops where combat readiness cannot be guaranteed on the principle of regionalism.

Another aspect is equally important. The facts are such that individual statements that Estonian lads are always sent far from their homes are groundless. One in four draftees serves in the Baltic Military District and even more in neighboring districts.

But it is worth saying here that some public demands are not worth denying. Many draftees could indeed serve in units bearing the name "Estonian," "Tallinn," and so on. The idea, incidentally, is supported by the commander in chief of the Ground Forces.

Such opportunities also exist in the Navy. But there is a source of concern. Estonians are sent to serve aboard the Pacific Fleet's ASW [antisubmarine warfare] ship "Tallinn." The city and the ship are an extension of one another. But the minesweeper "Komsomolets Estonii" is in fact based in this city. Are there many of the republic's representatives on board that ship? They are literally collected at the naval garrison to ensure that "there are."

Facts of life, so to speak, rather than theory. Only no businesslike cooperation can be seen here. How can there be results in the practical sphere?

The following question is inevitable: How do the republic's party and state leaders react to what is happening? At a press conference after the EPF inaugural congress V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, said: "Everyone is well aware that throughout the world the matter of military service...has always fallen within the domain of the central authorities. However, the democratization process affects all

spheres of our life and also the Army. It is quite obvious that the viewpoints voiced at the congress must be taken into consideration without fail in order to discuss them."

Let us discuss them.

Many problems have been resolved recently under the influence of public opinion. Take the deferment of the draft for full-time students. So let us have a discussion! However, it is a pity that only the EPF initiative can be heard. One would have thought that given the population's complex national structure and the incessant disputes between the EPF and Interdvizheniye alternative projects could also be examined. But once again it turned out that other projects were not taken into account. The proposals sent by the chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers to Moscow, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Soviet Government, and the defense minister also attest to this. They mostly reiterate the EPF demands.

But that is not all. "You must realize," I. Toome, chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers, said in a conversation with an ETA correspondent, "that this is the start of a long process. This is the first letter of its kind, the first real step toward limiting the Army's absolute power. Our aim is to reserve our lads for Estonia...." The last excerpt from the interview reads as follows: "There is a long and serious struggle ahead."

Struggle, struggle, struggle. Wherever this word dominates, expressing the imperative of one position alone (although others exist), it is hard to find a basis for consolidation.

Having visited the "Estonian Republic in the Years 1918-1940" exhibition, I saw certain examples of bourgeois army uniform. Uniforms in a museum are one thing but men wearing this uniform on the street are quite another. There is food for thought here.

Reader Criticizes Press Denigration of Armed Forces
PM1705155389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 13 May 89 First Edition p 1

[Reader's letter: "The Fruits of Irresponsibility"]

[Text] Latvia—Is there another state whose citizens are allowed to besmirch their national armed forces with such impunity as ours? In France, for example, the spreading of information denigrating the Army is punished by imprisonment for up to 1 year and a fine of up to Fr300,000. In Italy a person guilty of publicly insulting the Armed Forces risks imprisonment for up to 3 years. In other countries, too, the honor of the army is properly protected. In our country, however, people may run down the armed defenders of the motherland to their heart's content. And nothing happens to them.... That is the way some people understand democracy in our country.

In actual fact, if our press writes about military service and military servicemen, it does so negatively as a rule. Shortcomings, which do indeed occur in the military milieu, are savored and exaggerated almost universally. A lot of unjustified accusation and slander has been leveled at the Army, while insultingly little has been written about servicemen's exemplary execution of their patriotic duty in safeguarding the peaceful labor of Soviet people and about their heroism, courage, and valor.

But the power of the printed word is considerable. I work in a Russo-Latvian school which has 1,200 students. When it was suggested to our seniors that they go to military college on graduating from school you should have seen how they laughed at the suggestion and how they gave examples, each more scurrilous than the one before, about the Army—and all of it from the press.

Are we not paying too high a price for our indulgence toward those who deter young people from the Army and essentially undermine the very idea of the need for our socialist fatherland to have a reliable defense?

[Signed] V. Tropin

Military Preoccupation With Secrecy Illustrated
PM1705152089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 May 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by Yu. Zolotukhin, ZABAYKALSKIY RABOCHIIY correspondent, under the rubric "Photoreport With an Ax To Grind": "'Secrets' of the Dump"]

[Text] An ecological patrol, which included journalists, unexpectedly came across the tracks of the main polluters of leisure areas. On an improvised dump they found...military documents still intact. Absolutely everything was in these documents: The numbers of military units, the names of subunits in the Chita garrison, and the names of the military district's staff officers.

The newspaper ZABAYKALSKIY RABOCHIIY decided to expose the "military secret" of the origin of many dumps in pine forests. The report, complete with photographs, was ready to go to press when an agitated representative of a special department under the Transbaykal Military District staff flew into the editorial office. He categorically said that the "documents found on the dumps are quite serious" and, for this reason, were not suitable for publication.

Journalists were amazed by this turn of events but reasonably argued that real military secrets are not tossed onto dumps and that, consequently, the reason for the ban lay in a quite different matter—namely, in the desire to gag the press as usual. So they refused to abandon their intention.

Those opposed to the publication persuaded N. Guskov, secretary of the oblast party committee [obkom], to intervene. After losing a small part of the report, the

newspaper went ahead and published it anyway. True, right up until the last moment military censorship demanded a written "authorization."

The "secrets" on the dump are an inconsequentiality jealously guarded from the public, which is not indifferent to the moral "climate" in our Army. An article by our colleague, R. Blazhko, on nonregulation relations in the Army has been banned by the military censors for more than a year now. Notes on Army subjects by V. Kornilova from a youth newspaper have still not been published. In the military prosecutor's office the piles of different cases on bullying and other criminal offenses by military servicemen are growing, but some officials cannot make up their minds to cast their imaginary secrets onto the dump.

Military Officials Sign Sokolov Obituary
PM1805140989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 17 May 89 First Edition p 4

[V.I. Sokolov obituary]

[Excerpts] Lieutenant General Vladimir Ivanovich Sokolov, USSR Armed Forces first deputy chief of communications, has died suddenly in his 63d year. A loyal son of the Soviet people, who devoted all his strength and knowledge to serving the socialist motherland and the cause of the Communist Party whose ranks he joined in 1956, has departed this life.

V.I. Sokolov was born 1 February 1927 in Kharkov into a serviceman's family. [passage omitted]

Signed: D.T. Yazov, M.A. Moiseyev, P.G. Lushev, K.A. Kochetov, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, V.I. Varennikov, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, V.M. Arkhipov, V.M. Shabanov, N.V. Chekov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, Yu.A. Yashin, K.I. Kobets, A.I. Belov, S.A. Dikov, I.A. Larin, V.L. Gulevich, and Yu.A. Petryakov.

Special Technology Research Institute Work Viewed
18001044 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 14 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Article by B. Ryazantsev: "Card Sharper With a Walkie-Talkie"]

[Text] The NIIST [Special Technology Research Institute] of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] develops all kinds of equipment and devices for the needs of the militia. It is impossible to even enumerate what I have seen in the institute. This is why I will use examples to describe a small fraction of the exhibits.

Until a certain time, the airwaves had no master. At present, every organization allotted its own band monitors compliance with its boundaries so that others do not use their airwaves, that the discipline of communications is maintained, and, of course, that the hooligans of

the airwaves are intercepted. So, testing a new system of control recently, employees of the institute heard from the loudspeakers: "Eight of diamonds, seven of clubs, six of hearts...." They triangulated the signal. It led to a house where a gambling den was located.

Cards were played there at a very peculiar table. From above, its tabletop did not look like anything special, whereas from below it was transparent. A swindler, having secreted himself under the table base, relayed to his card-playing accomplice the suits of the cards of his opponents through a walkie-talkie.

This episode is somewhat random, because they were not looking for card sharpers specifically. However, it gave an impetus to a new kind of work. If you look into it closely, the institute is not experiencing a shortage of problems in need of a solution.

Say, recently phone calls with the following message have been frequently made to airports: "There is a bomb in the luggage on the plane...." As a rule, following this the departure is delayed for several hours, specialists search for the bomb, passengers get nervous, and Aeroflot suffers a loss. On most occasions, the bomb is a fabrication, and the message is false. Somebody interferes with his girlfriend's departure this way, somebody just "jokes."

A device for the automatic determination of the caller phone number has been designed in the institute exactly in order to search for such "jokers." It is already being installed not only at airports and railway terminals, but also in major hotels, department stores, offices, and other facilities which may become the object of not-so-innocent "jokes." Even before such a "message" comes to an end, the number of the phone from which it is coming is indicated on the display of a small-size system hooked up to a computer. If the message is genuine, the search for a criminal will begin with it. If it is false, then it will become known who has to pay indemnity for the "joke," which, incidentally, is frequently expressed by a four-digit number.

Something on the point of digits. Due to the projects of the institute, millions of rubles are returned to the state coffers. It is easy to notice an obvious discrepancy if we compare this to the sums allocated for improving the equipment of the MVD. The militia is forced to contend with obsolete, worn-out equipment. The institute is trying to alleviate backwardness.

"We have our own small experimental production facility," says Internal Service Colonel V. Khimichev, head of the NIIST, candidate of technical sciences. "However, one cannot in earnest expect us to manufacture ourselves, say, transistors, integrated circuits, optronic units, plastics, and so on. We are not in a position to.

Besides, why should we do amateurish work, and duplicate our industry? However, we can successfully use manufactured goods as semi-finished products for our equipment."

A small console with a simulated wood finish, with a metal detector for airports inside it, goes to confirm this. This latest model could successfully compete with similar equipment in the Western market.

Says Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Silant'ev, deputy head of the NIIST, candidate of technical sciences: "As specialists say, the performance of our device is better than that of the Finnish one, despite our neighbors to the north being the trend-setters in this kind of technology. Their exterior is much nicer than ours, but ours is much cheaper."

It would appear that the advantage is obvious. However, it is impossible to mass-produce the detector with the resources of the NIIST. It is regrettable that the enterprise which has undertaken to manufacture it does not have the necessary production capacity. Let us take another development, the "Parus" microscopic particle analyzer, which is an indispensable device for testing drugs, hair tissues, nail varnish, and so forth. However, the needs of the militia for this device are limited, and producing it would not be cost-efficient for any economically accountable enterprise. So, the analyzer has been waiting for its time to come...for the 6th year now.

A set of hydraulic salvage devices for car accidents is at the same stage. It includes a jack, a spreader, and scissors. Using these powerful instruments, people who have been hurt in an accident can be extricated from a mangled car within seconds. In 1982, 10 sets were manufactured, and then everything came to a halt, as if things had become idyllic on the highways, and drivers and passengers had stopped dying in crushed cars.

The institute also has priority developments. They include the "Kavun" rapid diagnostics device. This is an irreplaceable device in testing for drug intoxication.

Also, there is a laser device which "sees" any forgery or erasure on paper. While testing it, employees decided to check gasoline coupons. Suddenly, it turned out that many of them had been used...several times over. The stamps had been removed by chemicals, and the coupons had been circulated again.

There still are very many "exhibits" which not only the specialists and broad circles of our readers would be interested to learn about, but also those whom these samples affect most directly—members of the criminal underworld. This is why, glasnost notwithstanding, we will keep silent about certain things: This is in our common interest.

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